

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

## Britain charts its course

Two important developments — introduction of Britain's new budget and the Labour Party's recent alliance with the Liberals to obtain voting support in the House of Commons — make this an appropriate moment to assess where Britain stands today.

First, the budget. It will provide a welcome lowering of income taxes for hard-pressed Britons. But it has made the full reduction contingent upon continued trade union and labor cooperation to hold down wage increases, thus offering workers an incentive. It has kept within the guidelines imposed by the International Monetary Fund when that organization lent Britain nearly \$4 billion last January.

So, taken as a whole, this budget has a fair chance of attaining its basic aims: putting a brake on inflation and improving industrial output to some extent. These are tremendous objectives, of course, easier to mention than achieve, yet necessary nonetheless.

But the financial-economic problem needs to be viewed in conjunction with the political situation, too. For some of the socialist programs that are at the heart of the Labour Party's philosophy have not been successful, as far as the welfare of the nation as a whole is concerned. For example, public ownership of industries can be seriously faulted for inefficiency. This has led to lessening of the overseas sales Britain desperately needs to stay afloat financially. High inflation (still double-digit), high unemployment, and low productivity also constitute a constant pressure for changes and improvements that have not been forthcoming sufficiently fast.

This naturally has had a political impact. Prime Minister Callaghan's Labour Party is still regarded as probably better equipped to deal with the powerful trade unions and the party's own radical, demanding left wing. But

this, and the fact that the party has managed to control its radicals fairly well in recent months as far as wage restraint is concerned, has not prevented Labour from gradually losing support in the Commons and public opinion polls. Thus the urgency of the Callaghan decision to turn to the Liberals to repair his tattered Commons support and enable Labour to survive in power.

Economically, moreover, the government has been caught in a vise between the urgent necessity of cutting public spending and reducing inflation on the one hand and workers' demands for more spending and wage increases to counteract the bite of inflation on the other. Britain obviously needs another year of wage restraints, accompanied by firm measures to revivify industry and the economy. Labour's marriage of convenience with the Liberals may make these possible to achieve — and at least makes it unlikely that any legislation opposed by the political center will be passed for the time being. This moderating effect should be salutary.

For the Conservatives, who seemed for a time to have Labour backed into a corner, the need now is to convince more Britons they have a better program, that it is practical, and that the Tories under Mrs. Thatcher have the ability and determination to carry it out. That is a large order. It means making their free enterprise system seem preferable to a majority of voters at a time when growing state management and ownership have become a familiar way of operating in Britain.

Thus both major parties now have their work cut out. Britain's need is to do more than just stave off the next political or financial crisis. It ought to be moving into a new era where problems are confronted realistically by both left and right — and where better solutions are devised.

## Treading gingerly with Cuba

The Carter administration is discreetly playing down Cuba's involvement in Africa as it seeks to improve the United States' ties with its island neighbor. Washington diplomats insist they have no hard evidence of Cuban presence in troubled Zaïre, for instance. President Carter, for his part, by lifting restrictions on travel to Cuba and the ban on the spending of dollars by U.S. visitors there, has gone an extra mile in signaling Fidel Castro that he places high importance on ending the hostility of the past 18 years.

His strategy, if we understand it correctly, makes sense. Until the United States establishes political links and business and trade ties with Cuba — thereby giving the Cubans a stake in "détente" — it has little if any leverage with which to try to influence Cuban foreign policy.

The Africa connection is worrisome. There may be no "hard" evidence of a Cuban presence in Zaïre, but U.S. intelligence sources seem certain that Cubans now stationed in Angola have helped train the invading forces. If the Cubans, backed with Soviet arms, choose to play an activist role in subverting or des-

tabilizing recognized governments and fostering radical movements on the continent of Africa, this is contrary to international law and inimical to both African and Western interests there.

Angola is not the only country where Cuban forces are helping Marxist-oriented governments. There are some 1,000 Cuban military advisers and combat personnel in the Congo, for example. Another 200 to 400 Cubans in Somalia. There are also smatterings of Cuban instructors in Mozambique (training Rhodesian guerrillas). Dr. Castro is plainly expanding the scope of Cuba's "missionary activity" in Africa, as his current visit there visibly demonstrates.

We are not suggesting that Cuba does not have a right to play a role in Africa as much as anyone. But where the Cubans are using their and Soviet resources to foment civil war, undermine legitimate governments, and frustrate diplomatic efforts toward peaceful change in white-ruled nations, the West has reason to be concerned.

## Cheers for the Common Market

Good news is often passed over lightly. But the world ought to be more aware of the good news that Europe's Common Market has reached its 20th anniversary in basically sturdy shape. The European Community, as it is called, remains one of the most innovative and significant experiments in international cooperation.

To be sure, the community has not achieved the shining hopes invested in it two decades ago — to become a United States of Europe. Today it counts many disappointments. Instead of becoming more unified, the European nations appear to be dividing along north-south lines, each with a different set of political and economic problems. West Germany is surging ahead economically, for instance, while Italy is beset with financial troubles. New challenges now confront the market as Portugal and Greece (and later Spain and Turkey) knock at the door for admission, broussing fears that the

economic gap will be widened even more. Not least of all, the political unity of the nine is still an elusive, far-off goal.

But no worthy endeavor is without its temporary setbacks and, taken in historical perspective, the accomplishments of the community are no less than extraordinary. By reducing trade barriers and linking their resources, the Europeans have become one of the strongest economic powers in the world and vastly improved their standard of living. Despite their divisions and squabbles, they persist in trying to work together to solve such problems as unemployment and in aiding third-world countries. They have brought Britain into the continental fold and helped sustain Portugal's fragile democracy. They are moving, however reluctantly, toward a directly elected European Parliament.

Most important of all, a mood of stability and peaceableness has taken root in Europe.

'Can you get your friend over there to stop showing his teeth?'



## India's new leader

To the satisfaction of democratic forces everywhere, a peaceful change of power has taken place in India. Morarji Desai, head of the Janata Party which won a majority of votes in the recent parliamentary elections, assumes leadership of the country as Prime Minister. Indira Gandhi, who fruitlessly tried to impose an autocracy on India, nonetheless stepped down from 11 years of power with dignity and due regard for the constitutional process.

Perhaps the new Prime Minister's task can best be described in the words of his opponent's election slogan: "Stability or chaos?" For the first time the Congress Party's opposition has an opportunity to show that it is capable of leading the nation constructively. India is still India — with all the massive problems of poverty, illiteracy, and social divisions this implies. Mr. Desai will have to keep the country moving forward economically, building on the creditable gains made in the past two years, but doing so within the framework of democratic institutions and methods.

At the same time Mr. Desai will have to keep in touch with the vast Indian masses, who showed so eloquently that they do care who rules them and how they are ruled. Probably the factor that tipped the scales most against Mrs. Gandhi was her effort to impose family planning through forced sterilization.

In Mr. Desai India has a leader of proven ability and toughness. A disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, he spent many years in jail for civil disobedience. He has been a stern critic of Mrs. Gandhi down through the years and most recently weathered 10 months in detention without trial, emerging to campaign vigorously despite his age. In his many government posts he won a reputation as a tough and efficient administrator, although he did not always win popular support for his programs.

Whether Mr. Desai can unify the many strands within his party remains to be seen. The opposition has never worked together be-

fore and it may not prove easy to unify still an amorphous group of Hindu nationalist, Gandhian traditionalists, and anticongress leftists. It will take political skill as well as a dash of idealism to mitigate confusion and uncertainty while the dust settles.

The West, meanwhile, is naturally glad by developments on the Indian subcontinent. Yet it would be a mistake to let a mood of euphoria overtake a sober and realistic view of India's diplomatic position. While the new Prime Minister is certainly more disposed to the United States than the Soviet Union, for instance, it should be remembered that Mrs. Gandhi had already become disenchanted with her Soviet ties and improved relations with Washington. It is likely that Indian foreign policy will continue to be based on nonalignment, although warmer associations with the West are possible.

In any case, wisdom would dictate that the Americans, especially, not let themselves be lulled in another new "high noon" myth. There has been too much tendency to swing between extremes in reacting to the nation, alternating between disillusionment when the nation falters and a state of elation when it seems to leap into a state of euphoria. History certainly teaches that the course of progress is bound to have setbacks as well as gains and India, too, will have its share of these.

In short, as the West cheers India's recent display of the strength of democracy, it keeps its perspective. Surely the United States and others will wish to do everything possible to encourage a new government of the people and democratic policies. But they will let India set the pace in relations with the West and work to put these in a firm, steady basis.

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In southern Africa:

## Britain's man sees for himself

By Takashi Oku  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

London Britain may convene a constitutional conference on Rhodesia even before agreement is reached on an interim government for the territory that whites know as Rhodesia and blacks as Zimbabwe.

This is one of the ideas Dr. David Owen, British Foreign Secretary, is carrying with him on his first get-acquainted tour of southern Africa this weekend.

A Foreign Office spokesman said that Dr. Owen was "not taking any cut-and-dried blueprint" but felt that "a fresh approach should produce new ideas."

Two African leaders, Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Joshua Nkomo, are in London and were expected to see Dr. Owen before his departure.

Bishop Muzorewa — who, of the four black leaders involved in the recent unsuccessful Geneva talks with Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, is the only one still based in Rhodesia — has called for Britain to hold a referendum to determine who should be the future independent states leader.

"We would like Britain to stop this business of being wishy-washy over Zimbabwe," the diminutive bishop said. "Britain should stop being like a jellyfish, with no backbone."

Prime Minister Ian Smith has hinted that he sees Bishop Muzorewa as a moderate black with whom he could do business. But the bishop has powerful rivals, all of whom claim to have the support of black guerrillas fighting inside Rhodesia.

\*Please turn to Page 14

## Americans play Cubans and both sides win

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Havana There, side by side, were the Cuban and U.S. flags.

Then, exactly at 8:36 p.m., April 5, the first strains of "The Star-Spangled Banner" came over the public-address system of Havana's sports coliseum.

It was a moment of history. For the first time in the memory of many of the 15,000 people crowding into the coliseum, the U.S. flag was flying in Havana and the U.S. national anthem was being played here.

Later Sen. George McGovern (D) of South Dakota would call it "a very moving experience" and wish the people at home could have heard the anthem played in Cuba.

"It was like it used to be," a Cuban friend of this reporter commented later. "I had a tear in my eye."

Some of those present must have thought back over the past 17 years of hostility and antagonism between Cuba and the U.S. as the two flags were held aloft and the anthem was played.

The U.S. and Cuba broke relations Jan. 3, 1961.

The occasion was the first of two basketball games between Cuba's national team and a hybrid U.S. team representing the University of South Dakota and South Dakota State University.

\*Please turn to Page 14

## Back from the brink on arms

Brezhnev softens his 'no'; U.S. anti-détente crusader makes conciliatory noises, but . . .

By Joseph C. Harsch

Noteworthy among world events of the past week has been the speed with which two highly influential people have pulled themselves back from the brink of "anti-détente-ism."

Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow and Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson of the United States Senate are back on "safe" ground. Mr. Brezhnev, after saying a hard "no" March 30 to U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and the Carter formula for a SALT II

agreement, swung around on April 5 with the discovery that, after all, "a reasonable accommodation" is still possible.

And on the same day that Mr. Brezhnev pulled himself back, Senator Jackson — who had become America's loudest and most influential crusader against "détente" — was urging President Carter to "cool" his public pronouncements about human rights and criticizing Mr. Carter for too much "openness in negotiation."

Between the Brezhnev hard "no" of March 30 and the Brezhnev-Jackson soft

tones of April 5, something unusual happened. An almost forgotten anxiety was suddenly, chillingly, revived by that hard "no." What would the world be like without any détente in U.S.?

Probably in the United States, probably in the Soviet Union as well (but it would not show up in a censored press), people remembered what it was like before détente, when the gnawing fear of nuclear weapons was always present and just below the surface.

\*Please turn to Page 14

## ... Kremlin beats drum in Africa and Middle East

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow The Soviet Union is adopting a tougher line toward U.S. policies in the Middle East and in Africa, raising the prospect of harder days ahead for President Carter's diplomacy.

Some Western analysts here say the new toughness might well be linked to Soviet anger with Mr. Carter over the stalemate in strategic arms talks. This opens up the issue of how much Soviet displeasure on strategic arms — the central issue in détente, as the Soviets see it — might spill over into other areas.

But Western analysts see other reasons behind the new Soviet approaches. They include the visit of Egyptian President Anwar al Sadat to Washington and new pressure on the Palestinians in Lebanon. Also the Soviets are eager to capitalize on the momentum of Chief of State Nikolai V. Podgorny's just-ended tour of southern Africa as Britain plans a new diplomatic foray to that region.

Signs of the tougher Soviet policy are: • In the Mideast the Kremlin has begun criticizing Mr. Carter openly on the Palestinian issue. Analysts worry about the implications for the long-stalled Geneva peace conference and for the U.S.-Soviet talks on the Mideast scheduled for Geneva next month. (Moscow and Washington are co-chairmen of the Geneva peace conference.)

The new criticism clearly was timed to coincide with the arrival in Moscow of Palestine Liberation Organization head Yasser Arafat. Mr. Arafat's visit began April 4 — just as Egyptian President Sadat was meeting with Mr. Carter in the White House halfway across the globe.

• Cuba's Fidel Castro and Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev opened talks on Africa here April 5 as two opposing Rhodesian nationalists (Joshua Nkomo and Bishop Abel Muzorewa) were arriving in London, and as the British Foreign Secretary, Dr. David Owen, prepared to launch his own diplomatic effort in southern Africa. Dr. Castro's visit came as Zaïre broke off diplomatic ties with Cuba because of reported "proof" of Cuban involvement in the invasion of Zaïre by exiles based in Angola.

The official news agency, Tass, had attacked Washington March 30 for "poisoning" on the "purely internal" conflict in Zaïre. "As a pretext for intervention," Washington was simply trying to protect its investments there, Tass said.

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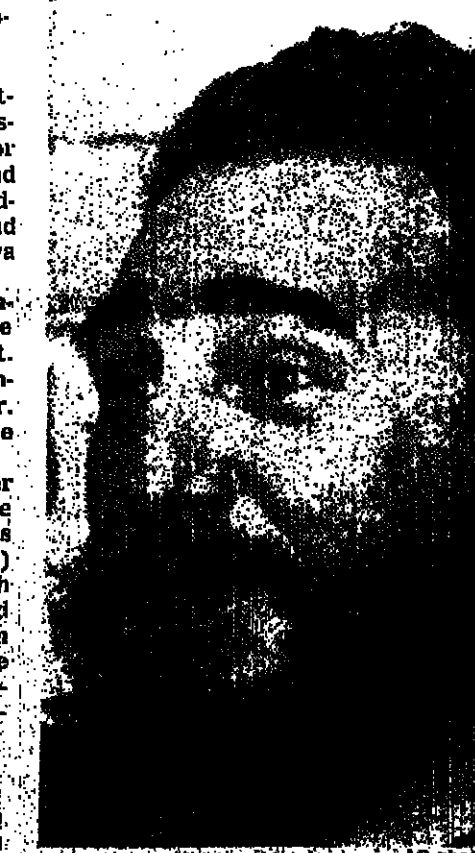
To the West: Egypt's Sadat . . .



and Rhodesia's Muzorewa



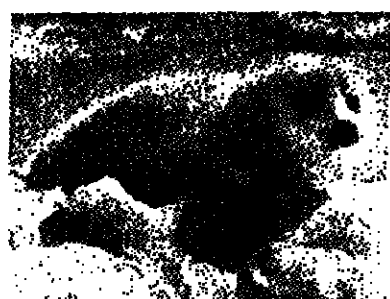
To Moscow: PLO's Arafat . . .



and Cuba's Fidel Castro



## Highlights



**SEAL HUNT.** A Monitor correspondent was flown out to an ice floe of Newfoundland to get a first-hand view of what really happens during the annual seal slaughter. Page 20

**WORLD PEACE.** When the Kremlin said no to Washington's arms plan it loosed a flood of speculation. An editorial sets out the Monitor's view. Page 32

**GUNS FOR HIRE.** Evidence suggests that once again British and American mercenaries are being recruited to fight in Africa. Page 9

**RUSSIANS WHO DISAGREE.** In his report on Soviet dissidents, Monitor reporter David Willis gives a vivid picture of what life is like for men living under the shadow of arrest by secret police. Page 16

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## THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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## FOCUS

## Marxists on the City Council

By David Mutch

Marburg, West Germany  
This quiet university town has most of the things that earn the name romantic: a castle on the hill, narrow streets — in some a visitor can touch the buildings on both sides with outstretched arms — and stone pavements, nicely renovated houses that often date back 500 years or more, and a placid river that winds through a green valley.

But to the discomfort of most of its citizens, it also has six Communists on its 59-member City Council. The last city election was March 20, when the German Communist Party (DKP) added one seat for a total of six and was the only party to gain votes. In the 1972 election, the DKP had won two seats, and in a special election after redistricting in 1974, the DKP added three more seats.

In the 1974 election, the Social Democrats (SPD) and Free Democrats (FDP) lost their coalition majority. Because neither the SPD nor the other large party, the Christian Democrats (CDU), wanted to work with the Communists, the SPD and the CDU formed in effect a grand coalition with a rightist tendency.

The small left-liberal FDP would have worked with the DKP in a left coalition to stay in the government.

Ulli Stang, leader of the Communists in the City Council and bearer of a Karl Marx-style beard, said in an interview: "The DKP has proven itself an opponent of consequence in the fight against the conserva-

tive policies of the SPD-CDU coalition here. It is the SPD's problem if they won't cooperate with Communists in a left coalition as the socialists do in Italy, France, and Belgium.

What Mr. Stang did not say was that the DKP is a Moscow-oriented party, one that is in many ways an extension of the Socialist [i.e. Communist] Unity Party (SED) in East Germany. It is taken for granted that the DKP here in Marburg gets considerable financial support from the SED. All members of other parties interviewed said it was their opinion that this was the case. And headquarters of the SPD, the CDU, or the FDP in Bonn would certainly oppose cooperation with the DKP here as a disaster.

The DKP operates legally, but it has been declared by the Federal Ministry of the Interior to be hostile to the German Constitution.

It has members in 27 city and county councils in West Germany. To do this it must gain at least 5 percent of the total vote in any election.

But only in Marburg has the DKP been able to force a grand coalition between the CDU and the SPD by getting such a high percentage of votes — 10.3 last March 20.

Bernhard Saezler, a CDU member and one of the four elected city administrators, says: "It is only because of the university here and a high and unique student-citizen ratio that the DKP has been so successful. Marburg has 73,000 residents, among them

14,000 students and nearly 5,000 employees of the university."

The social science-political science department here is famous across the country for its Marxist leanings and it is a drawing card for leftist youth.

Hilger Kell, chairman of the SPD in Marburg, said: "It is clear the DKP encourages leftist students to come here and to register Marburg as their first residence so they can vote."

But what is unclear is how many non-students — that is, just normal but disgruntled citizens — vote Communist as a protest. Mr. Saezler and most of the citizens on the street say 90 percent of the Communist vote comes from students or young teaching assistants from the university. But Mr. Kell of the SPD says he thinks up to 40 percent of the 3,519 DKP votes are not connected with the university.

Marburg lives uneasily with its Communists, but not bitterly. "If a family rents to a Communist student, they often say, 'he is a nice chap, but . . .'" Mr. Saezler says. Mr. Kell adds: "Earlier, such a situation in Germany would have torn the place up. But now the ideas collide — not the heads."

The City's Mayor, Hanno Drechsler, headed a high school as a young man in East Germany and was an SED member there. But he clashed with the party and came to West Germany.

He studied under a famous Marxist professor at Marburg. But last year, when city administrators were chosen by the City Council, he refused to be elected by the Communists. An associate says: "He knows from experience that the DKP is not a democratic party."

## Interview with a captured Rhodesian guerrilla

By Ralph L. Moss

Blessing Jobaya — not his real name but the name given to him by the guerrilla unit which he "joined" — is a 22-year-old black Rhodesian, who currently awaits trial for terrorist activities. He was captured on Nov. 21, 1976, by the Rhodesian Security Forces at Buhara, 40 kilometers from Umtali, on the Mozambique-Rhodesia border. Poorly educated (only through the equivalent of U.S. grade seven) he has by trade been, successively, a shepherd, bus conductor, and a worker on a tea estate.

On Jan. 10, 1977, Mr. Jobaya was brought to the criminal investigation headquarters in Umtali, Rhodesia, by officers of the security forces, where he was interviewed by this reporter. Dressed in civilian clothes, he was at ease and spoke unhesitatingly. As English is not his native language — though he is good in the use of it — he spoke through an African interpreter in his native Shona.

Blessing began by saying that he had not been sympathetic to the cause of nationalism and its related guerrilla war activity. In fact, he had not even heard the political rhetoric of Zimbabwean (black) nationalism. Indeed his involvement came only when he was "abducted" by nine unarmed men and taken from his brother's kraal in Chipinga to a guerrilla camp in Mozambique. He had been promised a job in this new setting, but he soon found that this was not the case.

After nearly a month of walking, moving from place to place, he arrived at the camp where he joined approximately 9,000 other "recruits" and "abductees," 1,000 of whom were young black Rhodesian women. (These women, though trained in military tactics, are not sent into action. Rather they do domestic chores in the camps and are used to provide sexual services for the young men.)

Trained in guerrilla war tactics and the use of weapons, primarily Russian and Chinese, he had never before held a firearm of any kind. He also heard for the first time of revolutionary political teachings. The camp commanders read to him from the "Little Red Book of Mao Tse-tung." Many of the men rejected these teachings as they contradicted the traditional beliefs of their tribal heritage. But they were made to "accept" these teachings as an integral part of their guerrilla preparation.

After his training, nearly two months in duration, Blessing spent only four months in "ac-



tive duty" with his guerrilla unit — which had no formal name and consisted, in the beginning, of 20 men and boys, aged 18 to 23 — before he was captured by the Rhodesian Security Forces. He had made two forays into his native country before his capture and arrest, and had been in direct contact, crossfire, with his "enemy" several times. Though he saw many of his comrades killed, he did not suffer any injuries during his four-month service.

The guerrilla leaders, led by Rex Nkhomo, the ultimate head of the Zimbabwe People's Army, taught their young soldiers they were to "instruct" the African villagers in revolutionary thought. This was not an easy task as most villagers are a simple people, not interested in the politics of nationalism. Indeed their collective level of awareness is negligible: their interest instead is in their farms, families, and a quiet life.

Thus, it was necessary for these young guerrillas to use harsh and oftentimes brutal intimidation. In fact, the guerrillas are responsible for nearly 1,000 killings of innocent villagers. (In spite of the rhetoric of nationalism — that of blacks fighting against white political and social oppression and dominance — fewer than 60 whites in Rhodesia have been killed by the guerrillas; other than members of the security forces, since 1972.)

The guerrillas were told to take food and provisions by force if necessary, though as the war has heated up over the last few years the

reputation of the guerrillas has preceded them and the villager resistance to their demands for food and shelter has significantly lessened. But the rural Africans still do not accept the political philosophy preached by the guerrillas.

Though Blessing is not accused of actually committing any murders, he is charged with criminal intent — his unit brutally killed two villagers; one was shot and the other, an elderly man, beaten to death. He could be sentenced to death by hanging, though he is most probably to be given a long prison sentence.

He is a calm young man as he faces possible execution; philosophical and confident. He is now sorry for his participation in the murders of these two villagers, and for his involvement with the guerrillas, an attitude not untypical of others captured. He knows that he must now pay for his activities, but his primary hope is that he will live to once again see peace in his native land. He now feels that the guerrilla war is wrong and must come to an end before more innocent lives are lost.

Blessing now disagrees with Robert Mugabe, the head of the nationalistic Patriotic Front, self-acknowledged head of the guerrilla forces, that whites must be driven out of Rhodesia. He says instead that whites and blacks must "live in peace with each other."

Mr. Moss, a black American freelance writer, has traveled extensively in southern Africa in recent months.

## Europe

## Carter diplomacy treads lightly in Rome

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Rome  
One of the early tests of the Carter administration's attitude toward Eurocommunism may come here in Italy.

"I don't ask the United States to love us," says Luciano Barca, a member of the Italian Communist Politburo. "I just ask Americans not to interfere in our domestic policies."

This is precisely what the Carter administration has pledged not to do. The President has sent one of his close foreign policy advisers, Prof. Richard Gardner of Columbia University, as the new U.S. Ambassador to Rome. Among his courtesy calls Professor Gardner carefully included Pietro Ingrao, Communist president of the Italian Chamber of Deputies.

## Keeping Communists out

American goals in Italy have not changed: The United States does not want Communists to come to power, either alone or as part of a coalition.

But Washington has made clear that its methods have changed. There is to be no under-the-table financial assistance to non-Communist parties or to individual politicians and members thereof. Nothing that in any reasonable way can be construed as interference in domestic politics will be attempted.

At the same time Washington hopes that Italians will not choose Communist rule of their own free will. The presumption is that as long as Italians perceive that they have an effective democratic alternative to communism, they will choose that alternative.

## More openness

But signals and symbols are important in politics, and so far the signals coming from Washington are perceived here, not so much as a stand-firm policy against the Italian Communists, as implying a greater degree of openness toward them.

The difficulty of Washington's position is that on the one hand it must show willingness to accept the Communists as one of Italy's major political forces, while at the same time manifesting its continued opposition to seeing them installed in the government.

Thus, the granting of a visa to Communist Mayor Elio Gabugliatti of Florence is seen as a sign of a changed American attitude, although U.S. officials point out that even under the previous administration, Communist officials like party spokesman Sergio Segre, were given visas to visit the United States.

## Visit to Detroit

Mr. Gabugliatti was given a visa in his capacity as Mayor of Florence on an official visit to Detroit. Mr. Segre was given a visa as a member of a parliamentary delegation. So far no Communist has been given a visa solely on the basis of his being a member of the Communist Party, although members of other parties are frequently given such visas. This would be the real test of changed U.S. attitudes toward the Italian Communists, and some observers hope Washington will soon announce such a change.

Said a reporter of the right-wing newspaper La Nazione: "If Socialists and Christian Democrats can visit Washington as Socialists and



Italian party leader Enrico Berlinguer

By Sven Simon

## Italian Communists: a test case for Carter

Christian Democrats, why shouldn't Communists be allowed to do so as Communists? After all that is the spirit of the Helsinki agreement, isn't it?" (The 1975 Helsinki documents pledged the 35 signatory nations to the free interchange of ideas and people.)

## After 30 years Mexico and Spain are friends again

By Joe Gandelman  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid  
The quixotic romance between a large Latin American country and a small band of proud political outcasts has ended — and recognition of the facts has begun.

In a joint official announcement, March 28, the Spanish and Mexican Governments formally renewed diplomatic relations after 38 years.

Mexico and the Paris-based Spanish Government in exile earlier suspended relations after more than 30 years. The break was an emotional one for Mexico, which saw in the symbolic Spanish exile government a reflection of its own ideals.

To Spanish exiles the break represented a "hard blow."

## Spanish Civil War

During the 1936-39 Spanish Civil War, Mexico sent the Spanish Republic more than \$2 million in aid, much of it military. Mexico and the Soviet Union alone actively lobbied for the Spanish Republic before the tottering League of Nations.

When the war ended and 800,000 Spaniards fled Spain, 60,000 of them went to Mexico where the government offered easy citizenship to those who wanted it. Many did.

The exiles put aside factional differences to form the Spanish government in exile in Mexico City. But by the 1950s General Franco's isolation by other countries evaporated, and the shadow government split. The Communists left the "government," which only Mexico and Yugoslavia recognized.

Symbolic ties linger  
Mexico, meanwhile, claimed that it never broke with Spain, but continued relations with the republic. This symbolic relationship continued for so long for three main reasons:

• Mexican romanticism: Mexico saw in the Spanish republic its own "revolution" and liked having the mother country follow its own anti-clerical, anti-monarchy democratic ideology. It dutifully sent its foreign minister to the exile government's Spanish republic celebrations each year.

• The influence of Spanish exiles: Mexico was the only country that happily welcomed exiles. So Spanish journalists, academics, and lawyers poured in. Spaniards founded El Colegio de Mexico and several important book publishing companies. But they stayed out of internal Mexican politics, which may have helped in the long run.

• The Cardenas effect: Mexican presidents wanted to follow Lazaro Cardenas, President of Mexico during the Spanish Civil War, who nationalized oil, distributed land to peasants, and refused to recognize the Franco regime.

Echeverria's actions  
Former Mexican President Lázaro Echeverría Alvarez apparently tried emulating Mr. Car-

denas when he asked the United Nations to expel Spain after General Franco executed five supposed terrorists in September, 1975. The Franco regime exploited that incident to arouse angry nationalism. But recently some, like lawyer José María Armero, have argued that "Echeverría was a great enemy of Spain [but] was never anti-Spanish. He was, like his predecessors, anti-Franco."

In fact, after General Franco's passing, Mr. Echeverría announced he was "proud of my Spanish heritage" and wanted ties with Spain. But little began until a new president, José López Portillo, emerged. His conditions for ties — an amnesty and the return of exiles "with honor" — were largely met by this September.

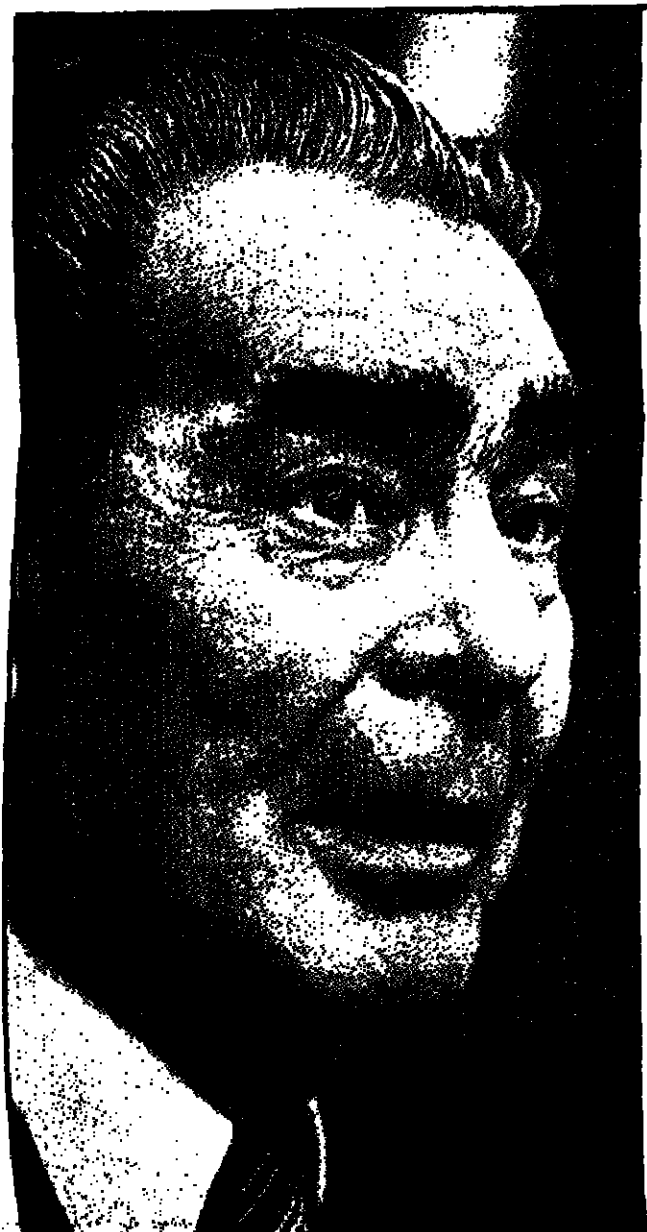
This, in September, Mr. López Portillo sent two intimates to Madrid to tell the Spanish government he wanted more than the tourist links opened in 1970. A month later Spain's opposition leaders were invited to President López Portillo's inauguration. Mexico also sent a high-powered "commercial mission" to Spain, headed by Santiago Roel, a key economic adviser to Mr. López Portillo.

A minority of the Spanish exiles insist that the "break" bypassed exile-government institutions, violated the Spanish republic's constitution, and is therefore "illegal." But most accept that it was "inevitable."

Diplomatic circles expect that Spanish Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez González will visit Mexico in April to dramatize Mexican recognition of Spain.



## Europe



Brezhnev: refurbishing a global policy

## Kremlin takes the offensive

Soviet strategies worldwide show a renewed hardness

By David K. Willis

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The Kremlin's stream of hard words to President Carter on strategic arms is part of a general swing into the offensive by Soviet global policy in this 60th anniversary year of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution.

The new Soviet mood was dramatized at Moscow's VIP Vnukovo airport April 4 when the entire top Kremlin leadership turned out to welcome Cuba's Fidel Castro for an "unofficial" visit. In the receiving line was Chief of State Nikolai Podgorny, who returned only hours before from the same continent Mr. Castro has been touring — Africa.

The two were expected to compare notes here on what appears to have been a joint Soviet-Cuban foray across Africa to try to mediate the Ethiopian-Somali dispute on the Horn of Africa and pick up more support among black African states to the south.

Almost unnoticed in the headlines surrounding the March 28-30 strategic arms talks with the United States, Moscow revived the bitterly critical tone toward China it had dropped after the passing of Mao Tse-tung. Western analysts say this marks a defeat for those older generals and civilians who had urged a low profile to encourage Peking to turn to Moscow for arms and economic help as it did 30 years ago.

Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev's veiled outline of new Soviet plans for a Mideast settlement continues to draw attention. This is so in spite of the fact that there is no sign of any softening of the Soviet stand that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) must be represented at a revamped Geneva conference.

### Poor start for year

The 60th anniversary is being celebrated with full trumpets by Soviet newspapers, radio, TV, and magazines. It has great ideological importance for the Soviets, as they strive to underscore their self-proclaimed status as leader of communism worldwide.

But the year started badly. Soviet influence was suffering

from U.S. initiatives in Africa and the Mideast. Protests were rising in Eastern Europe. A new American President was openly supporting dissidents such as Dr. Andrei D. Sakharov and Vladimir Bukovsky. The Soviet economy has large and well-publicized shortcomings.

So Moscow appears to be trying hard to project a different image these days.

On strategic arms the official news agency Tass repeated April 4 some of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko's blunt criticisms three days before.

Commentator Yuri Kornilov stressed that Washington was to blame for the impasse. He displayed a degree of pique that Washington had failed to mention a string of previous Soviet disarmament proposals.

He talked of frantic propaganda in the U.S. on human rights and Soviet military readiness. But he ended by leaving the door open to future talks — provided Washington changed its tune.

### Role of dissidents

The crucial role of dissidents here as a potential catalyst for more tension was emphasized April 4 with the reported arrest of another activist, young medical orderly Alexander Podrabinnik, who had been under heavy KGB (secret police) surveillance.

On Africa, Mr. Podgorny's trip is being portrayed here as a successful way of showing that Moscow is the natural ally of emerging states.

Moscow seeks no bases, no privileges, it is said. The 8 year friendship treaty with Mozambique, which matches similar treaties with Angola on the opposite side of the continent and with Somalia to the north, calls for consultations in times of emergency, Soviet ideological training of Mozambican cadres, and military ties. It also pledges respect for Mozambique's independence.

On China the clue to the newly critical Soviet line came in an article in Izvestia, the government newspaper, March 30. Anatoly Krasikov wrote that the new leaders have inherited the style of Mao's widow Chiao Ching. Not a single day passes without fresh anti-Chinese outbursts by the Peking press, he said.

## Soviet comment on U.S. bases falls on Greek ears

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Cassandria, Greece  
The Soviet Union's warning to United States Secretary of State Cyrus Vance during the Moscow talks about forward U.S. nuclear weapons bases in Europe was quietly noted by Greece's leaders. These leaders have still not

finalized a draft defense accord initiated with the U.S. more than a year ago.

Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis and his aides, mapping Greece's national policies at a conference of Mr. Karamanlis's ruling New Democracy Party here April 1 to 4, stressed Greek military preparedness, difficult relations with Turkey, and improving ties with Greece's communist neighbors in the Balkans.

Secretary Vance's disclosure April 1 that Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko had reintroduced the issue of U.S. bases in Greece, Turkey, West Germany, and elsewhere in Europe into the unsuccessful Moscow arms talks touched strong sensitivities here.

In his main policy speech to the conference here Mr. Karamanlis promised to continue strengthening Greece's "good neighbor" policy with Balkan neighbors. He regretted that "Greek-Turkish relations are going through a dangerous crisis, through Turkey's fault." But he did not refer directly to the difficult new round of Greek and Turkish Cypriot peace talks on Cyprus which began in Vienna March 31 under direction of United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.

His New Democracy Party, Mr. Karamanlis said, "believes that Greece's place is with the democratic West, with which it has long-standing ties in politics, economics and defense, and supports Greece's organic integration in the European communities. Within the European Community (EC) Greece can speed up its economic and social development and safeguard its security." Greece has begun negotiations for full EC membership.

Greek Defense Minister Evangelos Averoff emphasized the Aegean Sea, shared with Turkey, is an international waterway though its islands were peopled by hundreds of thousands of Greeks. He said the Greek armed forces had recovered from damage to their morale and fighting ability inflicted by the 1967-74 dictatorship here. Arms purchases from Western countries would continue at a high level, though without interfering with Greek economic development.

No one made direct reference to the Greek-U.S. draft defense accord, which, like one with Turkey, is awaiting review by President Carter's administration in Washington. Leftist opponents of Mr. Karamanlis are claiming that reported stockpiles of U.S. nuclear warheads on Greek territory, now under control of U.S. personnel, are one of the issues still unresolved, but there is no official confirmation. Mr. Karamanlis urged the 2,000 New Democ-

Prime Minister Karamanlis  
'Greece wants to be good neighbor'

racy Party delegates present to build a broad, well-structured organization which would be independent of his personal leadership and which would outlast it. Greek parties had been too short-lived and personalized, he said. Greek political analysts believe Mr. Karamanlis wants to strengthen his party's position to prepare for the scheduled 1978 parliamentary elections. Many Greeks expect after accede to the Greek presidency, probably after those elections. Some observers believe he could possibly be sooner in case of a Greek national emergency such as one with Turkey. In such case, the government might call for a referendum-type vote on Mr. Karamanlis's accession to the presidency or on national policy.

## United States

## Colleagues to Carter: 'cool it' on human rights

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Strong persuasion is being brought to bear on the President to "cool" his espousal of human rights to make certain this issue does not stand in the way of an arms agreement with the Soviets.

The source of this persuasion is highly placed Democrats who say their point of view on this subject has been passed along to top presidential aides, who, it was said, welcomed the advice and indicated they would be passing it along to the President.

The proposal is not that the President openly back away from his human-rights position — but that he merely desist from underscoring it so often and in such a challenging way.

This advice to the President reflects a growing concern among some leading foreign-policy professionals and liberal Democrats in Washington and throughout the country lest the rights issue (which they fully support) hinder

the achievement of what they regard as an even more important moral goal — progress toward lasting peace.

They are not saying they are certain that the issue has hindered an arms agreement thus far. But they feel the President should make sure it doesn't in the future.

Monitor spot checks with leading Democrats here and around the country indicate that this concern on the rights issue is largely still beneath the surface.

Furthermore, this anxiety comes from those who are basically friendly to the President and supportive of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's recent arms limitation talks in Moscow.

### How 'friends' see it

In fact, early post-Moscow indicators show that the public, as well as Congress, is rallying behind the President and his "hang-tough" approach to the Soviet's negative response to Secretary Vance's proposals.

Will Mr. Carter muffle his human-rights comments? In just the last few days he has said he would not "modify" them. But one in-

fluential Democrat here says that it would be possible for the President to "muffle without modifying" and that he hopes that this will occur.

Beyond this, the message to the White House, from those, again, who call themselves "friends of the President" and who reflect the "dove" view within the Democratic Party, is this:

• That the President, in future negotiations with the Soviets, rely more on quiet communications and less on open, highly publicized comments and proposals so that there will be no big buildup of public expectations that can so easily be followed by a widespread feeling of letdown.

• That the President do all he can to defuse what new seems to be a confrontation with the Soviets — without, of course, giving ground on positions that are vital to maintaining the necessary U.S. defense posture.

### Concern over new race

The concern of these Democratic doves is focused on the prospect that the United States

and Soviet Union are on the brink of an intensification in the nuclear arms race.

They are particularly distressed by Defense Secretary Harold Brown's uncertainty (expressed at a breakfast meeting with reporters) as to whether the U.S. and Soviets could reach an agreement on arms reduction before the current freeze on strategic weapons expires in October.

And they are worried, too, over Mr. Brown's forecast that U.S. defense spending might increase as much as \$2 billion annually if the President finally concludes there is no hope in getting an agreement with the Soviets.

Their unhappiness here lies in two areas:

A. Their concern that such additional expenditures for arms will overstimulate the economy and add to inflation.

B. Their further concern that big increases in the defense budget would end any hope of the President's putting through any new or increased social-welfare programs, such as a national health program.

## Latest battle with American Indians is in the courts

13-state group maps plans to fight 'Indian land grabs'

By Jonathan Harsch  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Mashpee, Mass.  
America's rediscovered ethnic roots could crack the nation's foundations, say members of a nationwide group opposing what they call "Indian land grabs."

At an April 4 meeting of ranchers from Utah, South Dakota, Montana, and Wisconsin — and city folk from every state in New England, plus New York, and South Carolina — several Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities (ICFERR) members spoke proudly of their American Indian blood. But all warned sternly against allowing Indians — "native Americans" — to bring more and more claims for land and for "tribal sovereignty."

By the time ICFERR meets in Washington next May, the 13-state group hopes that at least 25 states fighting various Indian lawsuits will "lock arms." Their aim is not to fight native Americans, but to fight the federal government and force Congress to intervene. Without swift federal action, warns ICFERR, more and more Indians will follow the lead of Maine's Passamaquoddy and Penobscot

tribes, which are suing for 12.5 million acres and \$300 million in damages and back rent on so-called "occupied" lands.

### Watergate-like impact?

Already ICFERR leaders are saying that their battle, focused in the pleasant Cape Cod town of Mashpee, could make Mashpee as important for civil rights in the '70s as Little Rock was in the '50s. They believe the impact could be greater than Watergate.

Two Watergate-related personalities have already been brought into the legal struggle: Boston lawyer and Nixon defender James St. Clair will represent those opposing Indian claims in Mashpee; Harvard law professor and special Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox is unpaid counsel to the Maine Indian tribes.

The immediate issue bringing ICFERR delegates and 450 townspeople together in Mashpee on April 4 was a seven-month-old claim by the district's Wampanoag Indian tribe to the town's 16,000 acres.

The Mashpee Indian land claim is based on a 1790 act of Congress requiring congressional approval of all transfers of Indian lands.

Since the U.S. Congress was never consulted about the division of Indian land in Mashpee, title may rest with the Indians. Only the courts can decide.

### Older group helps

The Indians backed by the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) of Boulder, Colorado, which has won a number of court cases for Indian tribes in recent years.

ICFERR, based on a four-year-old Montana group, was formed in February, 1976, largely to counterbalance NARF.

## Soviet chief's olive branch

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow  
A "reasonable accommodation" between the United States and the Soviet Union is "possible" — but it is up to the U.S. to replace words with deeds, said Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in his first public comment since the arms talks with U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance ended in deadlock March 30.

Speaking at a Kremlin dinner for visiting Cuban leader Fidel Castro April 5, Mr. Brezhnev said there appears to be a "rather good basis" for "practical steps" to limit the nuclear arms race.

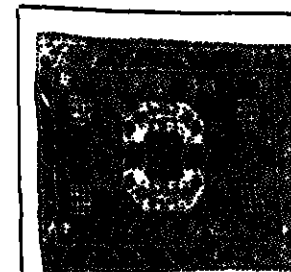
"Of course this basis should be strengthened and expanded," he said, thus holding open the door to progress.

"But," he went on, "recent contacts and talks showed that instead of moving forward, our partners are losing their constructive approach and keeping so far to a one-sided position."

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko accused the U.S. April 1 of seeking one-sided advantages with its latest strategic-arms proposals.

Mr. Brezhnev, thought to be the chief proponent of détente within the Kremlin leadership, said the U.S. should "fully realize its responsibility in curbing the arms race, and search for mutually acceptable solutions not in words but by deeds."

Mr. Brezhnev devoted two paragraphs of a short dinner toast to U.S.-Soviet relations. The rest of the toast praised Cuban-Soviet friendship, and referred at one point to Cuba's interest in helping countries in Africa consolidate their independence.



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# United States

## Ford on Carter

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Gerald Ford, breaking his self-imposed moratorium on criticizing President Carter:

A. Warns that Mr. Carter will likely be losing the battle against inflation by 1978.

B. Indicates that this will very possibly set the stage for him (Mr. Ford) to run again for the presidency.

"I'm seriously concerned that fiscal and congressional and other factors will lead us out of a winning battle with inflation to a losing one in 1978 and a really serious problem in 1979," Mr. Ford told a group of reporters over breakfast March 28.

At the same time, he said he would make his decision on running again "sometime after the 1978 elections."

Asked if he would fight for the nomination, if necessary, he replied: "You know I would fight for it if I decided to do it."

On the other subjects the former President had this to say:

• "A combination of Soviet attitudes and inflexibility in the Pentagon" prevented him from hammering out a nuclear arms agreement with the Soviets last year.

He did not spell out this Pentagon "inflexibility," but he appeared to be referring to the unwillingness of U.S. military officials to support a Ford-Kissinger effort to negotiate an arms settlement that would have left the U.S. cruise missile and the Soviet Backfire bomber out of the discussion.

The assumption in omitting cruises and Backfires, that they are short-range weapons. But some high up Pentagon brass are known to believe that this is a false assumption and that any negotiations that do not take these weapons into account would be foolish. "The Pentagon felt strongly," said Mr. Ford.

Mr. Carter, too, has indicated that he might accept an arms agreement that would leave the cruise-Backfire issue to be dealt with in later talks.

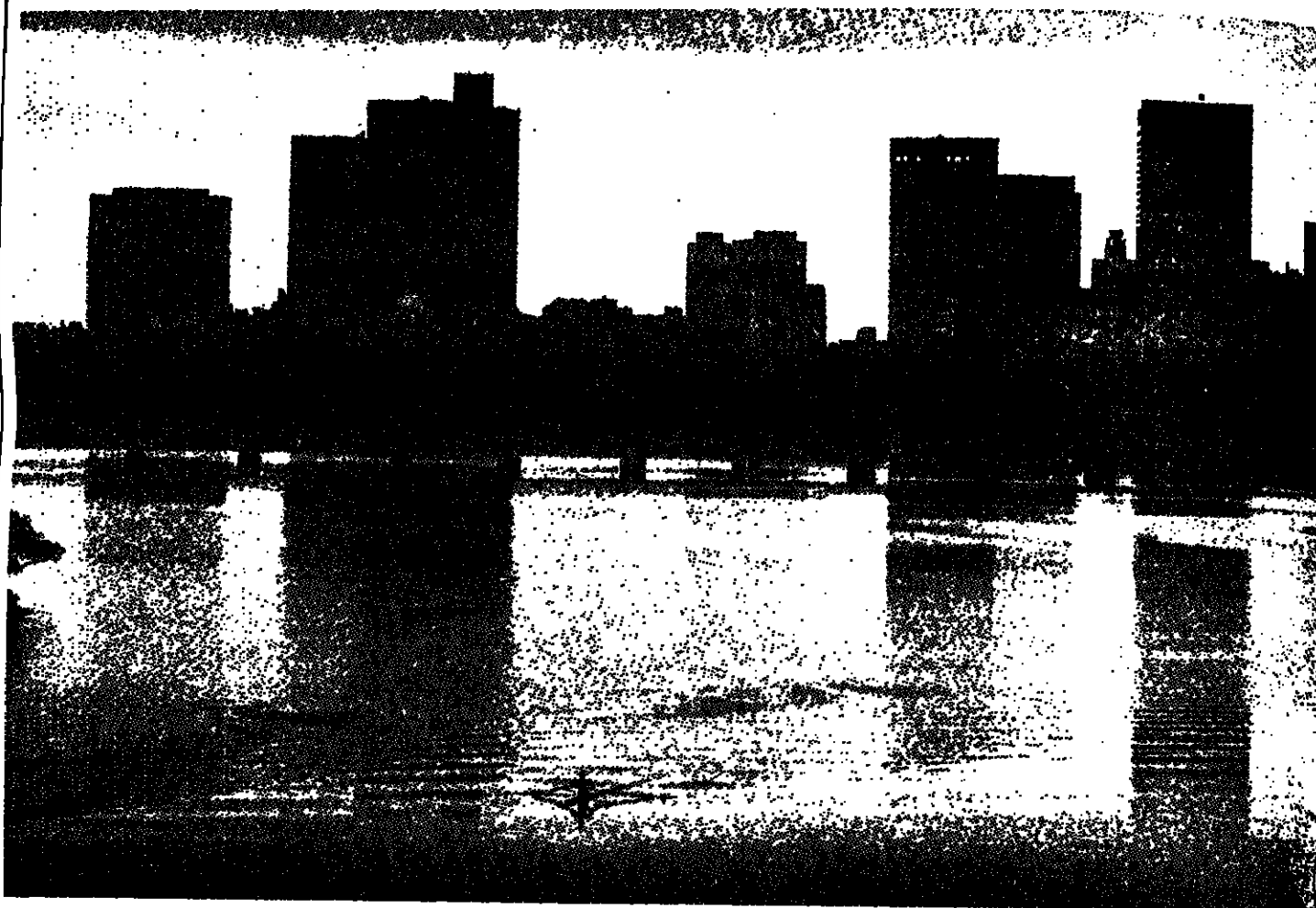
• Mr. Ford indicated he has some questions about Mr. Carter's emphasis on human rights — that is, on whether the Soviet's negative reaction to this may or may not have impeded SALT II negotiations.

But he said he sees nothing unusual in the Brezhnev reaction. "It was mandatory for him to speak out as he did," the former President explained. "There was the impact on the Warsaw Pact. And he had to speak loudly for internal consumption."

• Mr. Ford told of his private conversation with President Carter in the White House the previous day. He said the relationship was a "good" one and that they "hit it off well."

• Mr. Ford said he would be willing to help the President get an arms agreement with the Soviets through Congress. "Would he join Carter in this effort?" he was asked. "I'd certainly help. My conscience would bother me otherwise."

• While refusing to make an assessment of the Carter administration thus far — saying, "I'm waiting to see results; two months isn't very long" — Mr. Ford did add: "Nothing really successful has happened yet."



A peaceful dawn workout: lone sculler on the Charles River, Boston

Monitor staff photographer Barth J. Falkenberg has been named New England Press Photographer of the Year, in the annual photographic competition sponsored by the Boston Press Photographers' Association.

He won first, second, and third place in the portrait personality category and second place in the sports feature category. The sports feature winner was for the above picture.

## Oil and the export/import issue

By Harry B. Ellis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Millions of American families are directly affected by the ebb and flow of foreign trade, a fact that is posing difficult choices for President Carter and his trade officials.

Thousands of U.S. workers have lost their jobs because of imports. But nearly 9 million (about 10 percent of the U.S. labor force) earn their living from exports.

"We must get Americans to understand," says Robert S. Strauss, chief White House trade negotiator, "what trade means [to the U.S.] in the way of jobs."

To get that message across, Mr. Strauss told reporters at breakfast that helping Americans who lose their jobs because of import competition "lies at the heart of the matter."

How Mr. Carter will help Americans hurt by imports is not yet clear. But, says Mr. Strauss, "We can't go down the protectionist road [of imposing tariffs and quotas] without threatening free world trade, on which millions of American jobs depend."

Looking at the broad U.S. foreign trade picture, certain facts stand out. They are:

• If Americans could cut their oil import bill by 25 percent, U.S. foreign trade would be solidly in the black — instead of deeply in deficit, as at present.

• A continued growth of U.S. exports is crucial to achievement of Mr. Carter's cherished goal of balancing the federal budget by 1981.

• It will be hard to keep the unemployment rate from rising, if exports do not expand at roughly the rate they have over the past two decades.

Last year, the U.S. trade balance was \$5.0 billion in the red. Americans paid \$34 billion for foreign oil. So, if \$8 billion — or about 25 percent — had been lopped off that fuel import bill, U.S. trade would have been in the black.

This year, Americans will pay close to \$40 billion for overseas oil. Again, a 25 percent reduction in that total would put U.S. trade in the black.

Why? Because the world still buys vast quantities of American goods. Last year, U.S. exports of goods and services earned \$183 billion, about 10 percent of the nation's gross national product (GNP) of goods and services.

**Exports crucial**  
U.S. farm exports contributed \$23 billion of the total, manufactured goods (excluding military sales) about \$80 billion, and the rest was made up of "services" — royalties paid to American firms, net foreign investments, and the like.

"Export growth," says a Senate Budget Committee report, "is a crucial element in the strategy of balancing the budget by 1981."

Between 1954 and 1974, reports the com-

mittee, U.S. exports climbed at an average annual rate of 11 percent. To the extent that this growth rate falters, less money comes from abroad and more money has to be pumped into the U.S. economy through tax cuts or extra government spending. "This increases budget deficits."

In the past two years, when the industrial world was in recession, American exports grew at a slower rate — roughly 7.5 percent a year. The question now is: Will the growth rate improve as the world economy climbs out of a recession?

Key to export growth is foreign demand for American goods. Here attention centers on oil, whose burgeoning cost drains more and more purchasing power from nations that buy U.S. products.

This year alone, for example, latest OPEC price hikes will transfer to oil-producing countries an extra 8 billion or more than Japan, Europe, and developing lands might otherwise spend to import needed goods — including American.

**Trade leadership vital**  
All this points up the need for President Carter to take a lead in promoting free world trade, even though some Americans — notably in the manufacture of shoes, color television sets, and some other lines — are being hurt due to foreign imports.

No overall figures, according to AFL-CIO and government specialists, exist as to how many Americans have been "import-impaired" — that is, have lost their jobs due to import competition.

AFL-CIO officials, however, estimate that about 2 million "job opportunities" have been lost, some due to foreign imports but mostly because U.S. firms have locked factories overseas instead of at home.

Some business leaders dispute these figures, claiming that many parts used in overseas assembly plants are made in the U.S. Multinationals, according to this view, are new creators of jobs for Americans. Whatever the merits of these arguments, millions of Americans and the U.S. economy as a whole clearly benefit from healthy and expanding exports of United States goods.

Other Americans earn their living by selling in some cases assembling goods imported from abroad.

# United States

## How artichokes could help in the energy crisis

By Judith Frutig  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

In the woods of northern California and the forests of Oregon, experiments are under way that could help reduce world dependence on dwindling supplies of gas, and oil.

The experiments involve conversion of a variety of plant materials into convenient fuel pellets, which can be burned like coal or further converted into a fuel gas or oil.

The dark brown, processed pellets measure one-quarter inch in diameter and have a pleasant wood odor.

Instead of being pressured and formed for millions of years within the depths of the earth, as coal is, pellets will be manufactured directly from bark, sawdust, rye grass, artichoke stalks, corn, or sugar beet tops.

The results, according to the persons working with them, are a new type of fuel which will burn at least as evenly and cleanly as conventional fuels.

Processed fuel pellets are not new. During world war II, for example, London residents warmed their homes with briquettes made from a combination of coal dust and sawdust.

The new pellet processing plants are not fully operational. And the pellets will not significantly add to the energy resources available to the planet Earth.

"We only have so much wood or bark to make into the briquettes," says Stanley Corder, a research engineer in the forest research laboratory at Oregon State University. "So it doesn't actually increase the amount of energy. What it does is put it into another form."

Still, with fossil fuel resources in increasingly short supply interest has been renewed in energy from the forests.

Here's what's happening:

• In a pilot plant in Brownsville, Oregon, engineers are converting wood waste into clean-burning fuel pellets. This is done through a process of heat, moisture, and compression that is similar to nature's method of making coal. The final product, according to James Brethaupt, sales manager for the Woodtex Industrial Fuel Company manufacturing them, have a fuel value of approximately 9,000 British thermal units (Btus) per pound.

The plant has been in operation for eight months. A second plant is under construction in the state of Washington. More pellet production facilities are also being planned in Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, and the Philippines.

• Through a complicated heat and storage process the pellets can be converted into gas.

"When you see a log burning in the fireplace," said Mr.

Brethaupt, "that's the gas from the wood that's burning. The wood is heated, it gives off gas, and you burn the gas."

The cost of pellet fuel is comparable to that of fossil fuels. In the western coastal section of Oregon, for example, natural gas is selling for \$2.20 per million Btus. Fuel oil is selling for \$2.40 per million Btus, while wood pellets (minus shipping charges) sell for \$1.11 per million Btus.

• Using high pressure (meaning 4,000 pounds per square inch), moderate temperatures, and a mixture of carbon monoxide and sodium carbonate, engineers in a pilot plant outside San Francisco are preparing to convert wood residue into oil.

The plant is owned and operated by Bechtel Corporation — and funded by a grant from the federal government. It is a small, \$3.8 million unit converting three tons of wood residue each day into oil.

So far, the researchers have turned out experimental quantities of man-made oil. In April, when the plant is completed, they will begin testing at a larger scale. And if those experiments work, as expected, they will build a commercial plant with facilities to process 3,000 tons of residue a day.

"Our goal is energy, not chemicals," said Dr. Sabri Ergun. "Our objective is to make fuel that is transportable with low sulphur, low nitrogen that would meet the federal Environmental Protection Agency's requirements. We are looking to the future."

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## New Yorkers clean up their city

By Ward Morehouse III  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York  
Anna Leah Leslie-Braudes was tired of seeing abandoned buildings and trash-strewn streets in her neighborhood on the Lower East Side of this city, far from the "canyons" of high-rises in midtown Manhattan.

So she did what more than 8,000 others have done in the past 15 months. She joined the Citizens Committee for New York to help clean up her city.

After work hours Mrs. Leslie-Braudes searched city records for the names of absentee landlords in her neighborhood. She contacted them, and some came back to clean up in front of their buildings. Some landlords even plan to renovate their buildings.

"It's a distaste for seeing poverty everywhere you look that keeps people away from here," she says. "That's what we have to fight."

The committee's objective is to "act as a catalyst to tap the resources of citizens, community groups, religious institutions and businesses to help the city" at a time of fiscal crisis, says Sandra Silverman, the committee's executive director.

**Bright spots**  
Here are some of the bright spots as the committee sees them:

• Block associations all over the city have pledged to sweep their own sidewalks. People who have joined the committee's "sweep corps" are awarded free brooms.

• The New York City Sanitation Department is marching to the tune of the committee's enthusiasm and last month gave a gold-painted broom to a retired truck driver from Brooklyn who for years has diligently swept the sidewalk outside his Greenpoint, Brooklyn home.



# Asia

## China cracks open the gate to foreign trade

By Frederic A. Moritz  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong

China will modify the doctrine of self-reliance to build its economy with the help of foreign trade.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng has publicly signaled this intention, according to China watchers here in Hong Kong.

The signal came a fortnight ago after a two-hour meeting in Peking between Mr. Hua and a Japanese trade mission.

Analysts note that the new policy has been proclaimed in newspapers and documents gradually since the passing of Mao Tse-tung last September. But now it has been underscored because Mr. Hua himself has chosen to voice it in a public situation.

This also emphasized the high priority China places on good economic relations with Japan. "Japan is China's major trade partner," noted one observer. "So that is the area where there is likely to be movement."

At the same time, analysts suggest the Chinese are interested in weaning Japan away from possible closer economic and political ties with the Soviet Union.

The special interest may be timed for maximum effect because the current talks between Japan and the Soviet Union on fishing rights in the Northern Pacific have run into obstacles.

The Chinese also may hope that trade with Japan will help induce the latter to sign a Chinese-Japanese friendship treaty with an "anti-hegemony" clause directed at the Soviet Union.

"It may be an attempt to influence us," said one Japanese analyst, "but maybe the method is good for us."

Mr. Hua's statement came after two days of negotiations between Chinese officials and the Japanese businessmen, who landed in Peking March 31.

The Japanese mission, headed by Toshio Doko, chairman of the powerful club of business leaders known as Keidanren, brought a

proposal for China to sell quantities of its oil and coal in exchange for Japanese machinery.

As a result of the negotiations a five-year trade agreement was announced. According to its terms, Japan would buy from China 10 million tons of oil and 5 million tons of coal a year. The Japanese would send to China iron, building materials, coal-mining equipment, transportation goods, and equipment for chemical and electricity industries.

Analysts note that the new trade agreement reflects a general growth in China's expressed interest in foreign trade under the pragmatic leadership of Chairman Hua.

Chairman Hua told the Japanese delegation that China would continue the policy of self-reliance established by the late Mao Tse-tung. But he is reported to have added quickly, "It would be an error to say that means the exclusion of foreign countries. I have already established the policy of learning from the good experience of foreign countries and bringing in advanced technology and equipment."

Chinese officials cautioned their guests against too great an expectation of increased foreign trade, pointing out that last summer's earthquake as well as political turmoil since the purge last fall of the so-called "gang of four" had damaged the country's economy.

But the treatment accorded the Japanese mission is taken as one more indicator that the Chinese are once again looking overseas for development aid through the medium of foreign trade.

In 1972, apparently under the influence of the late Premier Chou En-lai, China began to place new emphasis on foreign trade, selling oil in exchange for modern factory equipment. But early in 1976, after the passing of Mr. Chou, it began discouraging this form of trade in a policy shift thought to reflect at least in part the growing influence of the more politically radical "gang of four," including Mao's widow, Chiang Ching.

Now the late Mr. Chou's approach to the matter appears once again in favor.

## Japan's symbolic cherry blossoms

By Kent Calder and Toshiko Matsuura  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo

Once again, the cherry blossom is taking Japan by storm, just as it has for more than 1,000 years.

Few things are dearer to the Japanese people than these delicate blossoms, or sakura, particularly after a severe winter like the one just past. They are a favorite topic of poetry and song. Throughout the month of April radio and television stations and the newspapers chart the progress of the "blossom front" as it works its way northward across the country.

Perhaps surprisingly, the winter has not delayed the blossoms.

To Japanese eyes, the sakura has deep emotional significance. In a fleeting beauty of the blossoms — they last only about 10 days a year — the Japanese see many of the ideals and realities of their own lives. April 1 is the beginning of the fiscal year here, and school, university, and employment ceremonies, all symbolically important in this group-oriented land, occur this month just as the cherry trees are in bloom.

### A symbol

In later life many Japanese nostalgically identify cherry blossoms with their youthful school days or with the beginning of their careers.

The symbolism of the sakura also has deep roots in history. The sakura caught the imagination of Japan's samurai warriors, whose ideal was a noble but fleeting existence terminated by a glorious passing. They frequently wrote poems about the blossoms before going off to battle. World War II kamikaze pilots made the cherry blossom their symbol as well, and it was emblazoned on the caps and uniforms of Imperial Navy personnel. It also appeared on medals given to the families of military men who were lost in action.

The Japanese have developed elaborate ways of savoring the nostalgia of the sakura. One popular method is the blossom

viewing party, generally staged in a large public park. The participants, usually co-workers, classmates, or wartime comrades — and mostly men — place a carpet on the grass under the trees, take off their shoes, and sit down to enjoy favored songs.

Many people take special one-day trips to the countryside to picnic beneath the cherry blossoms. Others time their vacations to follow the sakura north across the country. Still others retire to specially built pavilions to watch the blossoms by moonlight.

### Many varieties

There are roughly 30 natural varieties — and hundreds of hybrid varieties — of sakura, and most people can distinguish several basic types.

The Japanese language facilitates this keen observation by making fine distinctions in the extent to which the blossoms open up and in the way in which they fall. For example, there is a word for blossoms that fall together in a "sakura storm" as opposed to those that fall one by one.

Sakura also play an important role in Japanese cooking, which is sensitive to changes in season. The leaves are used to wrap sakura mochi, the favorite springtime candy. The blossoms are dried and salted and used to make a popular tea. Sakura are often put into soup, and the symbol of the blossoms adorns a wide range of foods.

Naturalists recently reported that cherry blossoms in many areas were losing their prized pale pink color and turning darker as a result of air pollution in urban centers.

The prospect of massive strikes in the transportation sector in the latter half of this month — a part of the spring "labor offensive" and wage negotiations for the past six years — may make cherry-blossom viewing more difficult than before.

But despite this and other problems in Japan this spring, the image of the flowering sakura continues to touch deeply the emotions of the Japanese people that so often are hidden from the rest of the world.



By Elizabeth Wendi

A branch of cherry blossoms for mother's Ikebana.

## China also a winner in India's elections

By Mohan Ram  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi

The defeat of Indira Gandhi in the recent Indian elections throws a major hurdle in the path of Soviet strategy in South Asia — much to the delight of the Chinese.

The new Indian government under Prime Minister Morarji Desai has pledged itself to a policy of "genuine nonalignment." And although Foreign Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee has taken steps to assure the Soviets that India continues to want a close relationship with them, he also said he hoped there would be further improvement in India's relations with China.

In contrast to Soviet dismay at Mrs. Gandhi's defeat, the Chinese reaction is enthusiastic. Observers here say this presages improved Chinese-Soviet relations.

Although it included attacks on both Soviet and Indian policies, the authoritative Chinese Communist Party journal People's Daily said

on March 31, "significant change in the Indian political situation" would have "an important bearing on the situation in the South Asian sub-continent and the Indian Ocean."

To realize their dream of "dominating the whole world," the commentary in People's Daily continued, the Soviets had tried to curry favor with the Gandhi government to "drag India into the orbit of their counterrevolutionary global strategy."

Furthermore, the commentary said, the Soviets had made India "an important bridgehead for the expansion of their sphere of influence in South Asia and the Indian Ocean." It also assailed Soviet "control" of Indian production and increasing Soviet "plunder" of the Indian economy.

The new government in New Delhi, on the other hand, is pledged to following up Mrs. Gandhi's initiatives of last year to break diplomatic stalemates with both the Chinese and Pakistan — a development the Chinese are expected to respond positively to. And the new government is not likely to condone Soviet pa-

val activity in the Indian Ocean but to oppose all "big power" rivalry there.

This latter point may also have a side effect, including other Indian Ocean littoral states (which, this line of reasoning goes, would feel reassured that Indian foreign policy no longer leans toward Moscow) to take up diplomatic equidistance between the rival superpowers.

Until 10 days before the Indian elections, the Soviet news media were supporting Mrs. Gandhi and denouncing the political consolidation of her opponents as a threat to democracy. By this tactic, the Soviets thought they were helping the Moscow-leaning Communist Party of India (CPI) acquire a grip on governmental policies because the CPI and Mrs. Gandhi's Congress Party needed each other's assistance in the elections. The CPI was not strong enough in its own right to influence the Gandhi government's policies, even in the area of foreign affairs.

In fact, however, electoral compulsions at the grass-roots level ruled out a united front

between the Congress Party and the CPI, as the latter found itself on both sides of the fence. In three states it had an alliance with Mrs. Gandhi's party, and in the rest of India it was lined up in opposition.

The result was disastrous for the CPI and — by implication — for the Soviets. CPI representation in Parliament dropped from 24 seats in 1971 to 12 seats in 1977. At the same time, the rival Communist Party of India-Marxist, which claims ideological parity with the Soviet Union and China and trully between the Soviet Union and China and the Janata Party of Mr. Desai, managed almost to keep its pre-election strength in Parliament — 22 seats as opposed to 26 previously.

In another development, the March 31 vote of the U.S. Senate foreign relations subcommittee, repealing earlier congressional measures against low-interest loans to India, is seen in New Delhi as a gesture of U.S. approval of the election outcome here and of the new administration.

# Africa

## Mercenaries for Africa: recruiting starts again?

By David Anable  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

A new attempt to recruit American and British mercenaries to fight in Africa appears to be getting under way.

A previous mercenary venture involving Britons and Americans ended in fiasco, imprisonment, and death in Angola last year.

Now, if sources involved in both the 1976 Angolan episode and the current effort are to be believed, the ostensible aim of the recruiting is to find 100 American ex-servicemen and 350 Britons to join Zaire Government forces fighting Katangan rebels in southern Zaire.

The pro-Western government of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko is having difficulty repulsing several thousand Katangan exiles who crossed into Zaire from Angola March 8. Latest reports indicate the rebels have taken several towns in the province of Shaba (formerly Katanga) which contains much of the central African nation's huge mineral resources.

### Inadequate laws

The first visible sign in the United States of a new mercenary recruiting effort was a "help wanted" advertisement placed in the Fresno Bee (California) on April 1. It asked for resumes from people with military backgrounds for "high risk" work in Africa at \$1,200 to \$2,000 a month, depending on qualifications.

In addition, an American mercenary source who recently returned from Africa claims that the organization which last year recruited the Britons for Angola now is looking for fresh British recruits to go to Zaire.

Neither Britain nor the United States appear to have adequate laws to prevent mercenary recruitments and enlistments. But both governments expressed strong disapproval of the 1976 Angolan mercenary intervention and denied any involvement.

Herbert Helu, spokesman for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, asked about the latest reports of mercenary recruiting for Zaire, said: "We have absolutely, categorically nothing to do with recruiting Americans or anybody else as mercenaries anywhere in Africa."

### Mercenaries captured

Some 180 Britons and about 12 Americans were involved in the abortive mercenary intervention in Angola in January and February last year. They entered Angola through Zaire and joined up with one of Angola's pro-Western factions, the National Liberation Front (FNL).

The mercenaries and the disorganized FNL forces were decisively defeated shortly thereafter by heavily armed Cuban troops operating with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which later became the central government. The Katangans now invading southern Zaire fought on the side of the MPLA in 1975 and 1976.

During the brief mercenary involvement, several Britons

and Americans were killed — 14 Britons being shot by their own commanders.

Ten Britons and three Americans were captured and tried last June in Luanda, capital of Angola. Nine were given prison sentences ranging from 10 to 30 years. Four (including American Daniel Gearhart) were condemned to death and executed by firing squad July 10.

Some observers believe it was Zaire's support for the subsequent guerrilla activities of the FNL and of Angola's other rebel faction, Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), that prompted the Angolan Government last month to retaliate by unleashing the Katangan exiles to launch their assault back into southern Zaire. The Katangans had originally fled Zaire during the civil war of the 1960s in what was then the newly independent Belgian Congo.

Others see a Soviet or Cuban hand in the Katangans' attack on the sprawling and strategic Zaire with its huge Western mining investment. Zaire's military commanders claim that Cuban and Russian advisers are working with the Katangan invaders.

The recent (March-April) African safaris of both Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny underline their respective countries' deep interest and involvement in African affairs.

But whatever the invasion's origins, any Zairian attempt to use white mercenaries to counter it would be likely to be widely viewed outside Zaire as a sign of desperation — particularly in light of the recent record of such mercenaries.

# INTERLAKEN

## Switzerland

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# Africa

## The Africa that Castro and Podgorny saw

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny and Cuban President Fidel Castro have both ended their African safaris. But having come and seen, they still have to prove that they conquered.

As they headed home, at least it was clear that the immediate centers of concern for both were:

- Southern Africa, where the threat of guerrilla war is mounting against the white minority governments of South Africa and Rhodesia.

- The Horn of Africa, where — against the background of perhaps shifting alliances — the Soviet Union and the United States are locked in a struggle, through proxies, for control of the southern entrance to the Red Sea.

The latter crisis is worrying the Soviets the most — as indicated by Mr. Podgorny's unexpected day-long visit to Somalia on his way back to Moscow from Tanzania, Zambia, and Mozambique. Presumably the Soviet President wanted to assess how responsive Somali President Siad Barre was proving to joint Sudanese-Saudi Arabian efforts to cajole the Somalis out of the Soviet orbit and into an anti-communist regional grouping of Red Sea states which would exclude Ethiopia.

The Ethiopia to be excluded would no longer have easy access to the Red Sea, since the regional grouping's sponsors support the breakaway of Eritrea as an independent state and the absorption of the French Territory of Afars and Issas (coveted by Ethiopia) by Somalia.

Ironically, the present military leaders in Ethiopia — more threatened with breakup than at any time since before the days of the late Emperor Haile Selassie — have chosen this moment to throw themselves into Moscow's arms. In some ways this is embarrassing for the Soviet leaders, since age-old Ethiopian-Somali animosities make it virtually impossible for any outside power to be simultaneously patron of both.

Mr. Podgorny avoided Ethiopia on his African journey. But Mr. Castro did visit the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, and apparently carried out some shuttle diplomacy in the Soviet's behalf. He reportedly tried to get the Ethiopian and Somali leaders, both of whom profess Marxism, to agree to a federation in which Marxism would be a glue strong enough to resist centuries-old hatreds. Mr. Podgorny's surprise follow-up visit suggests Soviet concern

about the Somalis' dependability if they are pressed too hard in the direction of the Ethiopian plans.

Just as both Mr. Podgorny and Mr. Castro were in the Horn (but never together) so were they in lands in southern Africa most closely connected with the black guerrilla struggle against white minority governments. (Mr. Castro included Angola in his itinerary, but Mr. Podgorny did not.)

In Zambia, both visited Victoria Falls and looked across the Zambezi into embattled Rhodesia. In Mozambique, both were given rousing welcomes in Maputo, the capital, less than 40 miles from the South African border. Both during their travels met radical black nationalist leaders operating outside their homelands: Joshua Nkomo (Rhodesia); Sam Nujoma (Namibia or South-West Africa); and Oliver Tambo (South Africa).

All this will have reinforced the belief of the white governments in Rhodesia and South Africa — and of most whites in both countries — that there is a Soviet-Cuban conspiracy to use African nationalist movements to establish Communist control of all southern Africa. These white governments reproach the United States, Britain, and other Western lands for not seeing things this way, too.

But it remains to be seen just how much Mr. Podgorny and Mr. Castro did achieve. Admittedly both were warmly welcomed by host governments and people. Both promised support to the guerrilla movements against the white minority governments in Rhodesia and South Africa (although guerrilla war has yet to be launched in South Africa). And Mr. Podgorny did sign a treaty of friendship with Mozambique's President Samora Machel, which promises Mozambique military aid. (Other African countries having such a treaty with the Soviet Union are Somalia and Angola.)

Yet at this stage, it would seem that the African governments most directly concerned with the nationalist struggle in Rhodesia — Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, and Angola — are as much concerned with exploiting the Soviet Union for African ends as Mr. Podgorny is trying to support African nationalism for Soviet ends.

Significantly, within a few hours of the departure of both Mr. Podgorny and Mr. Castro from Africa, the presidents of Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia, together with high-level delegations from Botswana and Angola, were conferring in Mozambique to discuss the results of Mr. Podgorny's visit.

## Amin's thumb on Ugandans

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Athens

Foreigners still living in Uganda are under less constraint than last month, but "it is far worse for the Ugandans themselves" under President Idi Amin's military rule, says a former American resident of Uganda who has just left the country for good.

President Amin's security advisers include a Briton and other foreigners, "and they are blamed for some of the killings and brutality practices on political prisoners. You can hear shouting and other evidence of this brutality almost every night in [the capital,] Kampala," this American said.

The last foreign diplomat who had firsthand information on the disappearance from a Kampala hospital and presumed murder of Mrs. Dora Bloch — the elderly Israeli woman (who also held a British passport) left behind when Israeli commandos flew into Entebbe and rescued the hijacked Air France passengers last July — has been given "an extended vacation from Kampala, probably for his own safety," the American added.

Forty-two of the hijacked passengers are suing Air France and Singapore Airlines for alleged failure to take security measures at Bahrain and Athens airports last June 27 to prevent the hijacking.

Relatives of Mrs. Bloch and of two persons killed during the rescue operation have joined the lawsuit, filed in a U.S. circuit court in Chicago, where both Air France and Singapore Airlines have offices. The suit alleges Air France failed to screen boarding passengers in Athens, where there was a strike of airport personnel on the day of the hijacking, to defend weapons. They are suing Singapore Airlines because it carried the hijackers from Bahrain to Athens, where they boarded from the transit lounge.

The alleged terrorists are said by Israeli authorities to belong to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a radical Palestinian guerrilla group involved in the Uganda hijacking, Israeli Radio reported March 28.



Black township, Kwa-Mashu, near Durban

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

South Africa will devote far more of its budget on financing black housing

## South Africa to spend more on defense and to appease blacks

By June Goodwin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

A siege mentality is steadily and subtly taking hold among white South Africans. When Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny was in neighboring Mozambique earlier, the South African Government, or at least government propagandists, were pleased.

What better evidence could be had, they said, that the government was justified in hiking the defense budget 21.3 percent for the coming year? That means the defense budget has increased about 250 percent since 1973.

This is the response to what the South African Government sees as the overwhelming external threat. But there is also in the budget a response to the internal threat — and more precisely to last year's riots by black students in African townships in protest against government policy on black education. The item for black education is up nearly 60 percent over last year's figure. The total for the coming year is 117 million rands — roughly the same figure in U.S. dollars. (The figure for defense is 1.65 billion rands.)

There was a dramatic increase in money for black housing, up 39 percent to 153 million rands. But blacks in urban areas still cannot own the land their houses are on.

"Everybody happy, except . . ."

The black newspaper The World said of the defense-heavy budget, "We want bread and justice — not guns." It added, "Everybody seems happy [about the budget]. Everybody, that is, except the blacks in the country."

White reaction to the budget has been acquiescent. The average citizen will not feel the 15 percent tax on imports for a while. And the plan for a defense bond lottery will keep some whites busy debating the morality or immorality of such a game of chance.

Meanwhile, a remarkable piece of legislation, called the criminal-procedure bill, is going through Parliament. If passed, it would drastically erode an individual's rights before the courts.

With this legislation, its critics charge, the government would undermine the judicial system that, along with the press, has had a modicum of recognition as being somewhat independent of government policies.

What bill calls for

The noisy protest over the government's attempt to censor the press has diverted attention from the criminal amendment bill.

Under that bill the innocent-until-proven-guilty stance of the courts would be reversed. A witness could be held in prison for as long as six months; written statements (instead of cross-examined witnesses) could be used as evidence; and the accused would no longer have access to friends and legal advisers (only advice from a lawyer, not access).

Other authoritarian measures the government has proposed within the past month include a doubling of the penalties for blacks who break the pass laws that control their movements, and a decision to arm Johannesburg's traffic police.

Also, the government has moved to widen its power to outlaw strikes.

**Union organizing pushed**  
This comes on the heels of a historic move by black unions to form a federation. Black unions are allowed to exist but are not legally recognized as having the right to formulate contracts with employers.

All of these steps to increase the government's arbitrary powers are surrounded by talk in the press of plans for the future shape of South Africa.

A government committee has been meeting for a year to consider changing the present basically British system of Parliament to whites.

A main concept talked about is a federal set-up, with whites, Indians, and Coloreds (people of mixed race) combined in a council at the top. Presumably blacks, who number 28 million out of 28 million, would be involved eventually.

## South Africans invited to Zambia

Johannesburg

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has invited South Africans to visit his country to dispel any fears about a racially integrated future, a South African newspaper reported Sunday.

In an interview with the South African Sunday Express, Mr. Kaunda said he was concerned with the dilemma of "actions" of the white minority in South Africa as well as with the injustices inflicted on the black majority.

"There are two groups that might be afraid of what a future shared fairly between all races might bring — and those whose beliefs are ahead of their community and who must feel lonely and oppressed in those beliefs," he said.

# Middle East

## Palestinian forces in Lebanon move to pouncing position

By Helena Cobban  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon

The counteroffensive of the Palestinian and leftist forces in South Lebanon has begun.

Since April 3 they have taken the strategic hilltop village of Taybeh and now are in a position to threaten many more of the strongholds that have come under the control of their Israeli-backed Lebanese rightist Christian foes during the six months since the fighting flared up in the south.

Reports that units of the Syrian Army present in Lebanon as part of the Arab deterrent force have taken part in the fight against the rightists have been exaggerated. In a day-long tour of the battle zone, this correspondent saw no signs of their presence.

But Palestinians on and off the battlefield admit that the Syrians have given implicit sanction to their current offensive. And units

of the Syrian-backed Saiga commando group have participated in the fighting.

All of which raises the question whether the Syrians have once again turned a somersault regarding their intervention in Lebanon. Have they reverted from their support of the rightists which started in the summer of 1976 back to their support of the Palestinians which predicted it?

Some people here are arguing that the Syrians have been forced to do this, mainly by the openness with which some sections of the right have been co-operating with Israel.

The rightists' relations with Israel, especially decisive for their campaign in the south, may well have been a factor in Syrian thinking. But more central seems to have been the obstruction from some sections of the Lebanese right, especially from the supporters of hard-liner Camille Chamoun to the rebuilding of the Lebanese military and administrative apparatus.

The Syrians seem determined to give Lebanese President Elias Sarkis all their backing in these difficult tasks — not least, perhaps, because if he fails there is a chance the Syrian involvement in Lebanon might be dragged out too long while urgent economic problems confront the regime at home in Syria. Yet last week the first step toward rebuilding the Lebanese Army — the appointment of a new chief-of-staff — met with such a storm of protest from the Chamounists that the prospects for completing further and more complex steps must have seemed bleak indeed, unless the Chamounists could be taught a lesson.

The Palestinians have few illusions that the most recent apparent Syrian turnabout will necessarily last for long. They suspect that the Syrians still cherish plans to weaken the Palestinian military presence in the south in the long term. Recent talks between Palestine Liberation Organization leaders and Syrian officials, they say, showed that the differences be-

tween Syria and the Lebanese Christian rightists are more over priorities than over long-term aims.

Meanwhile, the success of the latest Palestinian offensive, which has taken major Palestinian units to within 2½ miles of the border with Israel and led to fierce artillery exchanges between Taybeh and the northern Israeli settlement of Misgavam — the latter supporting the Christians — has raised speculation here that Israel might launch once again one of those "reprisal raids" which brought Israeli forces swarming deep into south Lebanon in the early 1970s.

Some Palestinians are arguing that it would be hard for Israel to launch a raid at the present time, with elections to the Knesset (Parliament) not far off and the U.S. heavily committed to reactivating the overall Middle East peace process. Others claim to have detected warning signs of an imminent Israeli incursion.

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# Latin America

## Dictatorship tightens its grip on Brazil

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

President Ernesto Geisel's action in shutting down Brazil's Congress does three things:

1. It reaffirms the military dictatorship that has been in power for 13 years.  
2. It slows whatever momentum existed for a return to democratic rule in South America's biggest country.

3. It smashes President Carter, who has sharply criticized the military regime for human rights violations.

Anti-United States feeling has been growing among Brazil's military since Mr. Carter became President.

In recent weeks, Brazil has refused its \$50 million share of U.S. military aid along with other Latin American military governments; rejected a report on human rights drawn up by

the U.S. Department of State under a congressional law; and torn up a 25-year-old military agreement with the U.S., warning Washington that it should not interfere in Brazilian affairs.

### Crackdown urged

On the domestic front many of Brazil's military commanders have been pressuring President Geisel to crack down on the regime's opponents.

General Geisel apparently yielded to the pressure at a time when it appeared likely that the center-left Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB), the only legitimate opposition group in the country, would score well in elections next year for state governors.

It was the MDB's strong showing in legislative elections in 1975 that led to General Geisel's closing of Congress April 1. At that time the MDB won 44 percent of the seats in the lower house of Congress; and that allowed it

this past week to block a government-sponsored judicial reform bill.

Although the pro-government Alliance for National Renovation has a majority in Congress, it did not have the two-thirds needed to pass the judicial reform measure.

The MDB objected to the bill because it did not restore the rights of habeas corpus for political prisoners or guarantee the independence of judges from government pressure. Under various military decrees, judges may be removed by military commanders if they do not toe the government line.

General Geisel accused the MDB of "transforming itself into a dictatorship in Congress" and blocking the judicial reform bill. He claimed that the military represented true democracy.

In response, the MDB called on its supporters to join in a peaceful struggle for "the conquest of democracy, with liberty and social

justice." It took issue with what it claimed was the government's assertion of "a monopoly to decide what is good for Brazil."

### 'Reforms' expected

Observers expect General Geisel to use the next few months to institute wide-ranging political reforms aimed at diminishing the MDB's strength and making sure that power remains in the hands of the military and its supporters.

The last time the government suffered a congressional defeat was in 1968. Then it closed Congress for nine months, weeding out opposition leaders and stripping dozens of congressmen of their seats.

MDB supporters are concerned that scenario may be repeated.

General Geisel now is expected to pass the defeated judicial reform measure by decree, using powers the military has had all along but has not used often.

## U.S.-Cuba relations: sports crack open bolted door

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

It is being billed as "ping-pong diplomacy" played with a basketball.

The arrival in Cuba this week of a South Dakota basketball team appears a significant benchmark on the road to rapprochement for Cuba and the United States.

It could well have an effect on Cuba-U.S. relations similar to the ping-pong matches four years ago that helped open the way for China-U.S. relations. But there is some hesitancy here about making too much of this week's basketball games.

The visit is the first officially sanctioned goodwill trip to Cuba by a group of North Americans since 1961, when diplomatic relations were broken. It also is the first sizable contingent of U.S. citizens to visit Cuba since President Carter lifted the 17-year-old ban on travel to the Caribbean island.

Moreover, it comes as contact between the two countries is mushrooming. Direct negotia-

tions over fishing zones have been under way in New York for two weeks, and a sizable bevy of Minnesota businessmen will be going to the island later this month.

Mr. Carter's lifting of the travel ban and his subsequent ending of the prohibition on spending dollars in Cuba have facilitated the talks and the trips — and it seems likely that a move toward rapprochement between Havana and Washington is, indeed, coming.

There are, however, major hurdles in the way: Cuba's Angola and other African ventures, spotlighted by Cuban President Fidel Castro's just-completed Africa trip, worry the U.S. The continuing trade boycott of the island by the U.S. bothers the Cubans. But neither hurdle seems insurmountable, and anyway visits such as that of the basketball team this week are not affected by the hurdles.

Cuba would have preferred a baseball team, indeed, Dr. Castro earlier this year invited the New York Yankees, but U.S. baseball commissioner Bowie Kuhn scotched the idea, saying an all-star team ought to go, and the invitation languished.

South Dakota Sen. James Abourezk and George McGovern stepped into the breach with the basketball visit. Both have visited Cuba in the past two years and discussed sports exchanges with Dr. Castro and other Cuban officials.

The South Dakota team brings together the University of South Dakota Coyotes and the South Dakota State University Jackrabbits. Neither team is particularly strong, and the hybrid team in Cuba this week may not be much of a match for the Cuban allstars.

But never mind. "We know we'll be pretty well outclassed," says South Dakota State University's sports information director Dave Martin.

"We're pretty excited about the games," and so are many in Washington, including Senators Abourezk and McGovern as well as Rep. Les Aspin (D) of Wisconsin.

The State Department is watching the visit with some interest for its effect on future contacts. A number of top officials are pleased about the arrangement and will be looking for future signs that Cuba wants to participate in other sport competition.

But this week's visit is still somewhat low key. The analogy with Chinese ping-pong diplomacy does not entirely hold up, for there have been contacts with Cuba all along, with a variety of congressmen, businessmen, and newsmen visiting the island. That was not the case with China before the ping-pong players took the tables.

Moreover, the Cubans are playing the altar somewhat casually. Dr. Castro himself may not be present. He is in Moscow for the first part of the week, after winding up his three-week trip to Africa, and it is not clear whether he will be back in Havana before the basketball team leaves April 8 after three exhibition games.

Since there are no direct air links between Havana and the U.S., the South Dakota team is flying on a chartered 100-seat DC-9 jetliner. It left Sioux Falls, South Dakota, early April 4 with a stop in Washington to pick up Senator Abourezk, Rep. Aspin, Miami Dolphins owner Joe Robbie, and a handful of newsmen. Senator McGovern will travel to Cuba separately, joining the group April 5.

## Britain goes it alone with its Nimrod warning system

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Britain's decision to forgo the expensive American airborne warning and control system (AWACS) defense and go ahead with building its own Nimrod radar reconnaissance system is getting close attention from allied defense analysts in south-eastern Europe.

Three NATO powers in the region — Italy, Greece, and Turkey — share one concern with the United States: the threat of Soviet planes, missiles, and submarines in the Mediterranean.

The Greek and Italian defense ministers reportedly discussed the question in Rome recently. Turkey's defense chiefs and the Shah of Iran probably talked it over in meetings with Gen. George Brown, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, when he met them in late March.

Greece, Turkey, and Italy, and the United States allied ship and shore installations in the eastern Mediterranean have been relying on a defense system called NADGE (short for NATO Air Defense Ground Environment). NADGE is a chain of U.S., British, and French-made ground radar stations along the per-

iphery of the Soviet bloc, from the Turkish-Soviet border westward and northward to the tip of Norway.

The system, say allied technicians, is fine for detecting enemy aircraft flying high, even up to 100,000 feet. But it cannot "see" missiles or low-flying planes that may sneak in under the radar. It may not be much good, for example, against the Soviet AS-4 or AS-6 missiles, which can be fired from one of the Tupolev long-range Backfire bombers. The Soviet naval air arm now operates 16 of these planes from its Black Sea fleet's land bases. They can and do range far into the central and western Mediterranean.

U.S. Vice-Admiral Harry D. Train, commander of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, who also is NATO commander at the alliance's southern Europe headquarters in Naples, has up to now depended on U.S. Navy Grumman Hawkeye E-2B and E-2C planes from the U.S. carriers America and Nimitz, carrier-based Grumman F-14 fighters, Lockheed S-3A antisubmarine warfare aircraft, and Grumman EA-4B electronic warfare planes.

These can operate from U.S. and NATO shore bases in Italy's Sardinia and Greece's Crete. Their work, especially in

tracking Soviet submarines in the deceptive Aegean and Ionian Seas, where the bottom is honeycombed with caverns, has been supplemented up to now by the old British Shackleton patrol planes. These can operate from Britain's sovereign air base at Akrotiri on Cyprus.

Allied planners say a defense system like the Boeing AWACS planes, which NATO has repeatedly postponed buying because of their multibillion dollar cost, could plug the low-altitude gaps left in Greece and Turkey by NADGE, and by Turkey's closing in 1975 of some U.S. early warning and monitoring facilities in retaliation for the U.S. congressional arms embargo against Turkey.

Britain's Nimrod might be able to help keep track of the Soviet submarine, surface, and air operations in the Mediterranean, but unless all of NATO including the U.S. adopted it — seen as unlikely by NATO analysts — it would presumably only operate from British land bases. Akrotiri is the last one in the east Mediterranean.

Western intelligence sources say the Soviets now deploy about 100 Soviet naval aircraft for reconnaissance in the Black Sea and Mediterranean.

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# Canada

## Quebec's new policy to bolster French draws fire

By Don Sellar  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Ottawa  
Quebec's pro-independence Parti Québécois government has unfurled a tough new language policy to bolster the French language and culture within its borders.

But already, Premier René Lévesque is being accused of seeking to erase the English-speaking minority in Quebec as a first step toward winning a referendum that would take the province out of Canada.

The language policy, to be embodied in legislation scheduled for presentation to the Quebec National Assembly later this month, is a bold step to strengthen French in the province.

It is designed to close the doors of English schools to all but Quebec's English-speaking

minority — a move that the government's opponents fear will lead to suppression of English culture and the English language.

### Conditions proposed

If the policy becomes law, English-language schools would be open to children having at least one parent who attended English-language primary school in Quebec or with brothers or sisters in the English system.

In addition, children whose parents had attended English schools outside Quebec but who are resident in Quebec when the law is passed would be allowed to remain in the English system.

Essentially, Quebec, a French-dominated province of 6 million, is throwing up a high wall around its one-million English-speaking inhabitants, allowing the minority to retain its

education rights but refusing to extend them to future immigrants from anywhere else in Canada or from other countries.

Sen. Eugene Forsey, a Liberal Party member of the federal Senate, says he is "appalled" by the Quebec white paper, which proclaims in the bosom of a bilingual Canada a province that will be primarily French in its government, courts, and school system.

Senator Forsey, a constitutional expert, says the language policy may be an attempt by the PQ government to drive out English-speaking Quebecers before the province votes on an independence referendum that Mr. Lévesque is organizing.

For the most part, the federal government of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau is re-

acting coolly and calmly to the language policy.

### Government would act

Prime Minister Trudeau said last month his government would act if the Quebec legislation contravenes language and school guarantees set forth in the Canadian Constitution.

The federal government has the power to disallow provincial legislation, but it has not used this heavy-handed technique at all in the last few decades.

Section 133 of the British North America Act, the written Canadian Constitution, guarantees the right to use English or French in legislatures and courts.

Federal sources indicate that if the Quebec legislation breaches the Constitution on these or other points, a federal challenge probably would be raised in the courts.

From page 1

## ★ Britain's man sees for himself

The bishop is believed to be able and willing to assume the mantle of black leadership in Rhodesia, but it would destroy him politically to be seen to be doing this in association with Mr. Smith. Hence his call to Britain to sponsor a referendum.

### Britain's view

The British idea — discussed with U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance during his stopover here en route home from Moscow April 1 — is different. The British Government accepts the Kissinger proposal for a two-year interim government leading to black majority rule will be difficult to revive. Not only does Mr. Smith seem determined to hang on to power during this interim period, but the various black leaders cannot agree on how power should be distributed among themselves.

At the same time Dr. Owen is determined to pin Mr. Smith down as to where he stands on his commitment to back majority rule in two years' time. This commitment was the major breakthrough that Dr. Kissinger achieved during his southern African shuttle last year, but more recent Smith statements seem to have

blurred its edges. Dr. Owen wants to bring the commitment back into sharp focus again.

### Bypassing controversy

A constitutional conference would bypass the controversy over an interim government while showing the world that Britain is prepared to take up its responsibilities as the colonial power which never recognized Mr. Smith's unilateral declaration of independence over 11 years ago.

It could discuss the makeup of an independent Zimbabwe and the guarantees that might be written into a constitution to safeguard the rights of minorities. Once agreement was reached on the blueprint for an independent black-ruled nation, the discussion of a transitional government could be taken up.

Dr. Owen has emphasized that he is open to any new ideas and that his main purpose is to listen to the various currents of opinion and see what is feasible. He is in close touch with Washington whose support will be vital to any new initiative.

His whirlwind tour April 10 to 16 is taking



Dr. David Owen

By Alan Band

him to Tanzania, Mozambique, South Africa, Botswana, and Zambia. He is expected to see South African Prime Minister John Vorster and Mr. Smith separately in Cape Town.

From page 1

## ★ Arms talks

In the first days after that "no" to Mr. Vance in Moscow, Americans were asking one another: "What does it mean? Is it serious?"

The sequence shows the difference between a world in which détente is presumed to be solid and a world that could be minus any détente at all.

Détente dates from May of 1972, when Richard Nixon went to Moscow and concluded the SALT I agreement with the Soviets. It was ratified by the Senate in two parts. The limit on ABMs (antiballistic missiles) was passed on Aug. 3 by 88 to 2 votes. The limit on numbers of strategic weapons was passed on Sept. 14, again 88 to 2. Détente was remarkably popular at its birth in 1972.

Ever since, Senator Jackson has been the leading critic of détente in particular, and the most outspoken person in high place in Washington in criticism of the Soviet Union in general.

The last two years have been the heyday of criticism of détente on the American political scene. It has been the popular side of the street in American politics. Senator Jackson has ridden it to a position of unusual power in the Senate. Patrick Daniel Moynihan has ridden it to the Senate from the United Nations.

But apparently there is a difference between attacking détente when it is presumed to be there — in place, a solid part of the environment — and a world minus détente.

Mr. Brezhnev's deed in Moscow on March 30 was chilling and disturbing because it revived suddenly the thought of a pre-détente world. What was it like then? A lot of old anxieties came flooding back. It is one thing to attack détente when it exists. It is another thing to be seen destroying it.

A survey of American anxieties taken before March 30 by The Christian Science Monitor showed enormous concern arising over crime in the streets and over economic uncertainties — but not even a mention of any anxiety about the Soviet Union or nuclear weapons. No matter how much détente may have been oversold to the American people by President Nixon, the fact is that Americans in general have not worried about the "Soviet threat" or the danger of nuclear weapons from 1972 until this past week.

True, plenty of Cassandras have been warning of the Soviet buildup of weapons. Senator Jackson has been in the forefront. True, a lot of Soviet experts in world affairs have felt that the American people have been lulled into a false sense of security. False or not, they were obviously lulled. And then Mr. Brezhnev says that hard "no." And that made a difference.

As soon as that wave of cold anxiety went through the American body politic we find Senator Jackson swinging around and accusing the Carter administration of being too blunt and bold in its public remarks aimed at Moscow.

It détente were, in the public perception, seen to have been killed, who would have had the blame? Until April 5 that blame would have been placed on the Carter administration. But now, after the three-week African trip and is not expected back in Cuba before the visitors leave the island.

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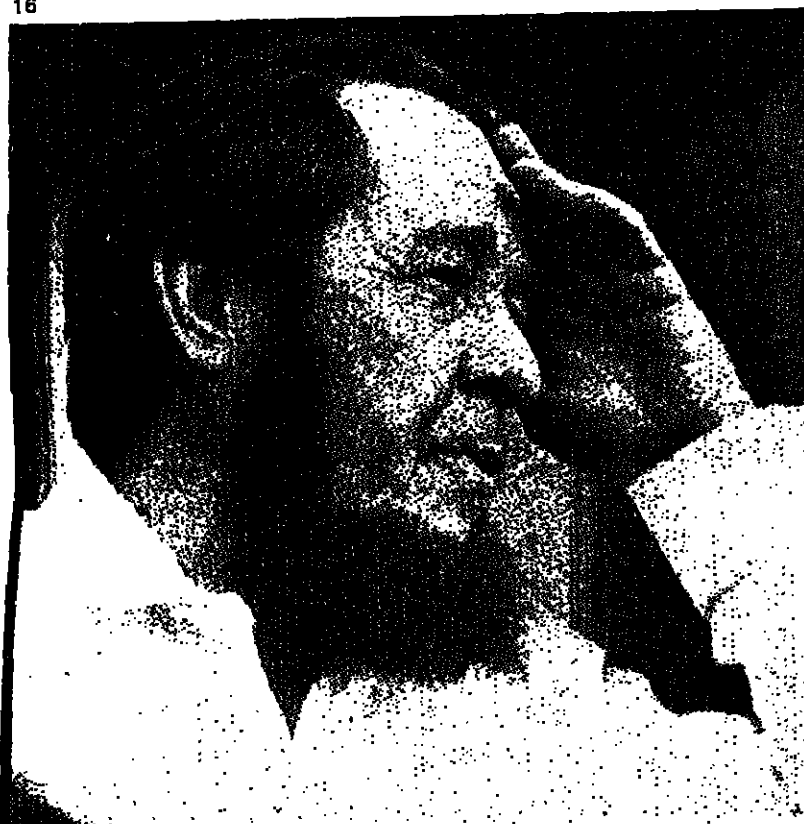
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By Sven Simon

Solzhenitsyn — poured funds into dissident cause



AP photo

Sakharov — best known of the dissidents



By Sven Simon

Bukovsky — met with President Carter



UPI photo

Ginzburg — arrested recently



AP photo

Grigorenko — fears return of Stalinist repression

# Under the shadow of the KGB—Soviet dissidents

World headlines proclaim them. President Carter defends them. Moscow calls them criminals, even spies. The future of détente could depend largely on them.

Just who are these Soviet dissidents who appeal to world opinion to help their cause? How much influence do they have? The Monitor's Moscow correspondent cables this report.

By David K. Willis

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow  
Life under the constant shadow of the KGB (secret police) includes one hard-and-fast rule, Soviet dissidents say: When the surveillance tightens, always carry with you a bag containing warm socks, warm underwear, and a sweater or two.

You could be arrested at any time. You can never tell how long you might be in prison. And those prisons are cold, especially at this time of year.

One of the more prominent dissidents to be arrested lately, a short, dark, voluble Jewish computer programmer, named Anatoly Shcharansky, carried his plastic bag with him everywhere for the first 11 days that he was shadowed around the clock. But the day he was finally picked up he had dashed from his apartment to telephone a friend — and had left the bag behind.

He had spent two cold nights in custody before friends gathered warm things for him, and the KGB allowed them to be sent in to him (a usual prisoner's right here). Dr. Andrei Sakharov, best-known dissident of them all and winner of the 1975 Nobel Peace Prize, telephoned to offer a fur coat.

Since Dr. Sakharov stands over six feet and Mr. Shcharansky is only a shade over five feet, the offer was politely refused. Later, friends laughed out loud at the thought of Mr. Shcharansky trailing around a KGB prison wrapped from head to toe in Sakharov fur.

The daily life of Soviet dissidents grows harder and harder. Not all of them are watched as closely as Mr.

Shcharansky was just before his arrest. At one point 14 agents crowded and elbowed one another on the Moscow subway following him home from a synagogue. But most are aware they are being watched.

Photographer snaps, then ducks . . .

Three who met a Westerner the other day were photographed as they shook hands. A photographer popped up from behind a wall at the far end of a vacant lot a few minutes later as the group walked by. He snapped some pictures and ducked down again.

The dissidents have lost their jobs — either because they have applied to emigrate to Israel, or campaigned for human rights, or have offended in other ways. They live hand to mouth, in old clothes and worn boots. They keep in touch by constant visiting back and forth, swapping details on surveillance and arrests, checking to see which of them still have telephones. (A dissident's telephone is likely to be disconnected quickly here.)

To the average Soviet citizen they are largely unknown. The only times some of their names appear in print is when they are accused of being renegades, or criminals, or spies (as were Mr. Shcharansky and colleague Vladimir Slepak March 4 by the government newspaper Izvestia).

However, they received an unprecedented burst of top-level attention March 21, when Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev publicly attacked them as "renegades," whose danger to society lay in the support he said they get from Western "propaganda and intelligence centers." Mr. Brezhnev mentioned none by name — but in singling them out for such criticism, he seemed by implication to acknowledge the influence that the dissidents do exert in Soviet society.

Loyal Soviet citizens echo Mr. Brezhnev's criticisms.

They stand for nothing, commented one Muscovite to this correspondent contemptuously. Referring to expelled Vladimir Bukovsky, whose recent meeting with President Carter upset the Soviets, he added, he is not worth talking about. He is lower than this, holding the palm of one hand an inch from the floor.

Most dissidents are virtually unknown by name in the West as well, despite recent headlines. The exception is Dr. Sakharov, one of the fathers of the Soviet atomic bomb, who went on to win a Nobel Peace Prize, receive a personal letter from President Carter and, lately, to appear both on television and the cover of Time magazine.

And it is possible that the efforts of the dissidents in helping them, will only end up making conditions worse here. The Kremlin insists it is simply enforcing Soviet laws.

Their cause, however, is drawing some support abroad — from the White House, the U.S. Congress, and Western Europe. Moscow has warned that U.S. interference in Soviet affairs could erode the trust necessary to negotiate such larger issues as limiting strategic arms. As arrests and tensions rose in the first two-thirds of March, Western analysts here worried that they

render less effective the visit to Moscow by U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance for arms talks.

Dissidents themselves think their cause is separate from such larger issues. They press on. And as they present a very different picture from American reports of the last decade. These were mostly young people objecting to the Vietnam war.

The Soviet protesters are older, in general, people who made it in the Soviet system but who now want the freedom to emigrate or greater obser-

vance of the protection they see inside the Soviet Constitution against arbitrary search and arrest, failure to explain in detail refusals to emigrate, and other human-rights issues.

The Soviet protesters are highly educated men and women. They once were scientists, engineers, doctors, psychiatrists. Some are historians (such as Vitaly Rubin, now in the West). Some are writers (Alexander Solzhenitsyn). They are resourceful and highly motivated.

Many are Jewish, but by no means all. Dr. Sakharov, for instance, is not, nor is Alexander Ginzburg, the man who distributed to friends thousands of dollars earned in royalties by the sale of Solzhenitsyn books abroad. Mr. Ginzburg has converted to Christianity.

Stalin-type trials feared

One is an older, bald, and cheerful former major general, Pyotr Grigorenko. His wife says she was a member of the Communist Party for 30 years. Both fear a return of Stalin-type trials following the arrests of six dissidents in six weeks from early February to mid-March: Mr. Shcharansky, Yuri Orlov, Alexander Ginzburg, Mikhail Rudenko, Oleg Tikhov, and Isak Begun.

One young man now freed from a Leningrad psychiatric hospital is Vladimir Borisov, who has spent virtually his adult life (nine years) in such institutions for political offenses. He and Pyotr Grigorenko met in such a place years ago.

Other activists include a computer expert with a toothbrush moustache, Vladimir Turchin (skilled in English, he heads the unofficial branch of Amnesty International here); a Baptist family asking for advice in the face of alleged harassment; Pentacostalists who claim persecution for 40 years.

Deliberately they defy the Soviet system. The Kremlin accuses them of working for Western intelligence, for money. Indeed, they were aided by money earned from Solzhenitsyn books sold abroad (although this has been stopped). They reply they simply want the right to emigrate (if they are Jewish) or to live in a country where basic freedoms are protected.

Dr. Sakharov has never applied to leave. Dr. Orlov, who organized a group to publicize alleged Soviet violations of human-rights clauses signed after the European-North American conference in Helsinki in 1975, wants to reform his own society.

In some ways the dissidents have the same characteristics as the government they battle. They have the

same penchant for planning, the same conspiratorial air of working together under outside pressures.

They often show a lack of full understanding of the outside world. They exaggerate the attention they are receiving there. They sometimes make statements that strike the outside ear as intemperate, such as accusing the KGB of causing the Jan. 8 explosion in the Moscow subway as a provocation against dissidents.

They attribute recent releases — such as Mr. Borisov and Dr. Mikhail Shtern, freed 5½ years early on March 14 — as the result of pressure. Other observers feel the Soviets may simply be trying to soften the blow of other arrests in Western eyes.

But they think they have found in President Carter, as well as in British Foreign Secretary David Owen, a sympathetic audience. They think other Western European leaders and Communist parties support them.

And it is their hope that sustains them. They don't know how it will all happen, but they keep telling themselves that somehow, some day, public opinion the world over will come to their aid. They see the Kremlin as sensitive to public criticism, especially from French and Italian Communists. Their first reaction to the Shcharansky arrest was to issue impassioned pleas to Jews and others outside the Soviet Union to speak up loudly.

Keep up the pressure, said one dissident to a Western correspondent the other day, "We are the ones who will have to take the effects. We will."

"Keep speaking out," says Mr. Slepak, a physicist with a fluffy graying beard, who has been trying to get to Israel for seven years. "It might not be so good for us here, but it will help Jews everywhere."

Yelena Bonner (Mrs. Sakharov) was blunter. "What are you afraid of?" she asked loudly after a correspondent had wondered about the impact on the Vance visit.

Dr. Sakharov believes in Mr. Carter and American help. He has criticized historian Roy Medvedev, who has been reported as saying Mr. Carter's statements have provoked more arrests. Dr. Sakharov calls this the statement of a traitor.

So the dissidents disagree among themselves. Their goals differ. They work against tremendous odds. They contravene the spirit of the Soviet system, and they may fall.

But they keep trying. How the Soviets treat them will remain a large part of U.S.-Soviet relations for a long time to come.



Sovfoto

Brezhnev — attacked dissidents as 'renegades'



## books

## Watergate: John Dean's view

**Blind Ambition: The White House Years**, by John Dean. Leicester, England: WHS Distributors. £4.05.

By C. Robert Zelnick

During the three traumatic months between late March and late June, 1973, John W. Dean III had moved from his position as the linchpin of the Watergate cover-up to the linchpin of its exposure. Following his week of intense grilling before the Ervin committee he was in need of both physical and moral repair. A prep-school friend invited Dean and his wife, Maureen, to an idyllic little retreat near Melbourne, Florida.

"While we were packing," John Dean recalls, "I had ignored her question about why I was carrying 'Inside the Third Reich,' by Albert Speer. I wanted to know how Speer had coped with guilt."

That Dean should turn to Hitler's minister of armaments and munitions for psychological reinforcement is, perhaps, the most interesting statement in his rather disappointing account of his experiences during the Watergate period, "Blind Ambition." For in studying Dean, one is almost involuntarily drawn to the classic portrait of Speer, which appeared in the British newspaper *The Observer* of April 9, 1944:

#### Technical mastery

"Speer is not one of the flamboyant and picturesque Nazis. Whether he has any other than conventional political opinions at all is unknown. He might have joined any other political party which gave him a job and a career... much less than any of the other German leaders does he stand for anything particularly German or particularly Nazi. He rather symbolizes a type which is becoming increasingly important in all belligerent countries: the pure technician, the classless bright young man without background, with no other original aim than to make his way in the world and no other means than his technical and managerial ability. It is the lack of psychological and spiritual ballast, and the ease with which he handles the terrifying technical and organizational machinery of our age, which makes this slight type go extremely far nowadays."

Dean's mastery of technical and organizational machinery has indeed brought him extremely far. He first achieved recognition in

GOP ranks as a junior staff member of the House Judiciary Committee as the Republicans were searching for issues to use in the 1968 presidential campaign.

"It looked to me like the Republicans had only two possible issues to make a comeback with," he recalls telling former special Watergate prosecutor Henry Ruth: "crime and defense. I didn't know anything about defense, so I decided to become a crime expert... the Nixon campaign didn't call for anything about crime problems that Ramsey Clark wasn't already doing under LBJ. We just made more noise about it."

That earned him a place in John N. Mitchell's Justice Department, from which he was recruited as White House counsel when John D. Ehrlichman became head of President Nixon's Domestic Council.

Dean treated his White House position as a "small law firm," competing for business and influence in the Nixon White House. The speed and technical competence of his work earned him bigger assignments, more luxurious office space, a larger staff, and a priority place on the White House limousine list.

It also placed him at the epicenter of the Watergate cover-up where his skill at "plugging the dikes" brought him the sincere, albeit temporary, gratitude of the President.

#### Scapegoat role?

It is clear from Dean's own account of the period that his defection from the Nixon team was the product of no moral awakening. Rather it was the incompetence of higher-ups at containing the matter, together with Dean's probably correct notion that he was about to be made the scapegoat, that drove him into the arms of a skillful criminal lawyer, Charles Shaffer, the Watergate prosecutors, and the Ervin committee.

Having switched sides, Dean proved every bit as competent at exposing the cover-up as he had been at conducting it. And with equal results.

He became the most celebrated character of the case, the "star witness" of the prosecution. When prosecutor James N. Neal moved his office from its K Street headquarters to the district courthouse on John Marshall Place, Dean, while technically imprisoned, succeeded to Neal's old digs — "a corner location with lots of windows" — complete with a "John Dean" office nameplate.

This proved too much for Mr. Ruth, who made him get rid of the nameplate and move into assistant prosecutor Jill Voliner's former office.

Following commutation of his one- to four-year sentence to the four months already served, Dean again landed on his feet with a lucrative book contract, a reporting assignment for *Rolling Stone* magazine, and some tidy fees on the lecture and talk-show circuits.

#### An offer to help

Again, he is proving helpful to those who can further his career. After a recent interview session with Dean, Sally Quinn of the *Washington Post* reported: "Tell me what kind of... you want to do, and I'll try to help you," he says generously and later tells of other reporters who seemed nervous or unwelcome and whom he has helped out.

According to Ms. Quinn, Dean claims to be a registered independent who could "as easily have worked for a Democrat."

Dean's book, of course, contains little new information. What he knew and was willing to talk about, he told three years ago to investigators who could be of use during his period of frantic plea bargaining.

His allegation that President Ford, as House Minority Leader, was in close touch with the White House during efforts to scuttle the late Rep. Wright Patman's investigation of Watergate, received more play than it deserved. Mr. Ford's memory lapses notwithstanding, anyone remotely familiar with the workings of the White House and Capitol Hill — not to mention Mr. Nixon's tapes — would long ago have assumed that to be the case.

Where Dean's book is most disappointing, though, is in its virtually total lack of moral or even historical insight. Reading it, one knows nothing more about the motivations, personality traits, objectives or views of Mr. Nixon and his former top aides than when he began.

And if there is any ethical concept embraced in Mr. Dean's work, it must surely be: Don't get caught, or, if you do, make yourself useful to the people who catch you.

C. Robert Zelnick, who covers the U.S. Supreme Court for this newspaper, is a free-lance journalist based in Washington, D.C.

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## The Met makes a lalapalooza out of 'Lulu'

Long neglected Berg opera is dazzling

By Thor Eckert Jr.

New York

When the Hamburg Opera brought its production of Alban Berg's "Lulu" to the Metropolitan Opera House in 1968, New Yorkers had only half a chance to see one of the more controversial 20th-century operas — and one the Met seemed to have no interest in mounting.

But now, finally, Met regulars can see it, in a brilliant production staged by director of production John Dexter, sets and costumes by Jocelyn Herbert. This second performance kept the predominantly subscription audience spellbound and searbound for virtually the entire evening — no mean feat for such dense, complicated music, and an unfamiliar opera sung in German.

The overall feeling about "Lulu" is one of stunning theatricality. There are moments that bring shivers, much humor, some intensely frightening moments as well. Mr. Dexter has heightened all of it memorably, while not outstepping the bounds of taste, nor underplaying the more violent moments, particularly Lulu's and Geschwitz's death at the hands of Jack the Ripper.

The Herbert sets are richly evocative, realistic, art-deco with an amazing illusion of majestic height in Schön's home, or the desolate poverty of the London garret. The costumes sustained the visual excellence.

The work cried out to be given in English, as was the earlier Poulenc "Dialogue of the Carmelites." There were too many stretches of rapid dialogue that demanded the vernacular

to sustain interest; almost every performer was American!

Castling was strong throughout, even down to small roles assumed by Nico Castel and Cynthia Munzer. Raymond Glibbs was excellent as the Painter, Andrew Foldi scored as Schigolch. Lenus Carlson's Ringmaster and Acrobat had an impressive air of stylish authority; William Lewis made much of Alwa, even if he ran out of voice before the end.

Carole Farley, the Lulu, has sung the role in Europe many times, so it was no surprise that she was given the assignment for her debut in replace the announced Lulu. In a smaller house, hers must be an impressive performance. For the vast expanse of the Met, her small-scaled vocal resources were often swallowed up, and the frequent, very high notes were, for the most part, very soft, very inaudible. Miss Farley is tall, attractive, appealing in a wholesome way; but she never communicates the essential paradox of seductive siren and innocence, and that lack made much motivation fuzzy.

It was to Donald Gramm and Tatiana Troyanos one looked for dominating portrayals, and, along with Mr. Carlson, they did not disappoint. The Countess Geschwitz, in love with Lulu, is a tragic, unrequited figure, and Miss Troyanos made the most of a part that is more a physical presence than vocal tour de force. Mr. Gramm crystallized Schön, the respectable man falling to unrespectability caught in the Lulu web that ultimately destroys all the people she comes in contact with. And vocally he was distinguished — the Met saw to it that first-class singers took these acting roles whenever possible.

James Levine kept tight rein on the musical forces, finding the drama and passion of



Gramm (left) and Farley in 'Lulu': 'a stunning theatricality'

the score. Even during the slide-show depicting Lulu's arrest and her escape (complete with German titles) he was able to sustain tension and match the slide-scene action — no small feat.

The Met has mounted "Lulu" with more style and flair than anyone had a right to expect. Now they must bring it back for four or

five times every other year, so Met audiences can grow with it and really begin to appreciate the power of the opera. If the third act ever sees the light of day (Berg's late widow claimed she was in contact with the deceased composer, who ordered her to not release the composed but unorchestrated act) "Lulu" will truly come into her own.

## German film director: focusing in on greatness

By David Sterritt

New York

When things are slow, movie critics often amuse themselves by springing the name of the next superstar filmmaker from Europe — Rainer Werner Fassbinder of West Germany.

If you haven't heard of him yet, or seen any of his sweet or savage pictures, it's because Fassbinder himself won't cooperate. He refuses to rev his creative engines and give us the triumphant tragicomedy he seems so capable of, thus establishing his name at last among casual moviegoers as well as art-film aesthetes. His quirky, sometimes purposely offensive pictures hover on the brink of greatness, needing the merest creative nudge to topple them into "immortality." This has been going on for years, and one wonders whether Fassbinder might actually want it this way.

#### Elusive figure

Compared with other star directors, such as the fiery Lina Wertmüller or the cerebral Ingmar Bergman, Fassbinder seems an elusive personality. Literally elusive: Though I have met him briefly, on two occasions when I was supposed to interview him he didn't show up. He has pulled similar stunts with other journalists. He is a big favorite at the annual New York Film Festival, where he ignores the microphone at the obligatory press conferences, muttering replies in broken English or mumbled German. Then he floats quietly out of town. Not a recluse, exactly, but a celebrity despite himself, with a leather motorcycle jacket and a what-am-I-doing-here? expression planted permanently on his features.

Fassbinder shows the same abandoned attitude toward his work. Perhaps, deliberately, perhaps mistakenly, he doesn't seem interested in creating "masterpieces." While many directors covet the opportunity to linger lovingly over every shot, Fassbinder charges from project to project as fast as he can move, regardless of the difficulty or unpleasantness of the topic at hand. Maybe that long-awaited triumph will come when he slows down a bit, takes more care. But for now he seems unstoppable, surging ahead with several films per year as director, screenwriter, and occasional

star of a massive and eccentric body of work. How many other 31-year-olds can boast 29 completed pictures — at last count — and no let-up in sight?

While Fassbinder's films frequently deal with the most ordinary levels of middle-class life, he takes few pains to attract the kind of mass audience that Sirk reached with such epics as "Imitation of Life" and "The Tarnished Angels." The characters may be just plain folks, but the Fassbinder movie meanders at its own exhausted pace, simultaneously meditative, stifled, rich, and bleak. The action (if there is any) unfolds in its own good time. Sometimes difficult subject matter is injected into an everyday framework — race or age prejudice, political exploitation, even homosexuality. Here Fassbinder explores possibilities and conclusions with little regard for audience tastes and sensibilities.

The first American Fassbinder Festival now going on at Manhattan's New Yorker Theater wanders over the wide range of Fassbinder filmmaking. It opened with the American premiere of "Mother Küster Goes to Heaven," the story of a kindly old lady whose husband goes berserk (off-screen) and commits murder and suicide. Ignored by her selfish children, she finds herself exploited by the sensationalistic press, then manipulated by friendly left-wingers. Strange to say, the ending is as loving and friendly as any Fassbinder moment I've seen.

#### Bitterness and banality

By contrast, "Fox and His Friends" is a bitter and often banal look at homosexuality and class conflict. "The Merchant of Four Seasons" is the colorful but hokeyly forgettable story of a loser on the way down. "All: Fear Eats the Soul," one of his gentlest films, borrows its plot from Sirk's splendid "All That Heaven Allows," about an older woman and a younger man, but puts a grandmother in Jane Fonda's role and an Algerian worker in Rock Hudson's. "Beware of a Holy Whore" is a tedious and fascinating look at what Fassbinder evidently sees as the tedious and fascinating business of filmmaking.

Stay tuned for further Fassbinder news. It could be that the much-discussed filmmaker's time has come — or gone — at last.

## Stained glass: windows as art

**Stained Glass**, by Lawrence Lee, George Sedon, and Francis Stephens. Photographs by Sonia Halliday and Laura Lushington. London: Mitchell Beazley, £25.

By Jane Holtz Kay

Stained glass is the most evanescent of all the arts, and the most radiant. Charged or deserted by the daylight, it performs its rising and vanishing act: at dusk, life leaves; during the sun's span, light plays a dynamic role "according to the time of day, the seasons and the weather," as the authors of this sensitive and attractive volume note.

Though not as opulent in its photographs as might be expected (how could they match the art form itself?), this is an invaluable survey of the subject, from its natural origins and optics to its history and architectural use, to the making of stained glass windows in the home. Stained glass is not simply clipped out of its windows and put on a pedestal but viewed in its integrity to the "mother of the arts," architecture.

Despite its comprehensiveness, there is nothing encyclopedic or dreary in the tale of the 5,000-year-old art form. Using their own critical perceptions as to the place of glass and a keen sense of how to relay knowledge of the unfamiliar form, the authors at first depart from a standard chronology. The many small pictures here lose the luster of the windows-as-art but convey the sense of varied origins. The authors divide the form into types (tracery and rose window) and content. Chapters on sources of inspiration give colorful vignettes of Biblical and nursery imagery. Under the heading of "Saints," one sees the heroes from the 12th

century to Gauguin. The cross-cultural view of "The Natural World" gives us St. Francis and the birds, a lifelike dog, or Durer's floral window.

This half may seem spotty, but "Reflections of the Times" — architecture, daily life, or fashions — are gracefully written essays in themselves. And the dip-and-flip approach is a good match for the coffee-table format itself. A bit disorienting or disorganized, but a glittering preface to the more standard chronology that completes the book.

The authors roamed far. They have tucked a world of jewel-like windows in a text that shows not only the glories past but the under-viewed, underrated accomplishments of recent centuries. As reference and source this book should better serve the new fans of the form than the kitschy kits of stained glass parts that cost as much.

Jane Holtz Kay is a correspondent for *Art News*.

## 'Art of the Print'

**The Art of the Print**, by Fritz Eichenberg. London: Thames and Hudson, £18.

Eichenberg's life as printmaker, lecturer and director emeritus of the Pratt Graphics Center equip him to select and explain graphics from past and present, and to persuade other noted printmakers of today to write about their techniques. Where possible he has tried to use seldom seen masterworks rather than old warhorses. The writing is scholarly but easily grasped.

E. W. F.



From 'Stained Glass'

Prophet window, Augsburg



# environment

## 170,000 seals killed — must the hunt go on?

By Lynde McCormick  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

St. Anthony, Newfoundland  
Until about 15 years ago, winter would hit this bleak town of 3,500 like a prison sentence. There was no road connecting St. Anthony — located at the tip of a small, barren peninsula on Newfoundland's northeastern coast — with the rest of the island, though every few months a dog sled trekked 300 miles to bring mail. Electricity and running water did not arrive until the early 1960s, about the same time as the main (unpaved) road.

But in mid-March this year St. Anthony found itself the center of international attention. Up to 100 reporters and cameramen from at least a dozen countries descended on this and neighboring towns to witness the annual, controversial baby-seal hunt which takes place on ice floes about 100 miles offshore.

Each spring the female harp seals give birth on the ice floes to their furry pups, which weigh about 15 pounds. Each spring, to the horror and outrage of much of the world outside Canada, Canadians and Norwegians venture onto the ice to club the seal pups to death and to take their pelts. To many it is a cruel and unnecessary slaughter, and international public pressure to stop the hunt has increased steadily in the last decade.

Several wildlife groups have protested the hunt over the years with considerable publicity. Most prominent of these is the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW), headed by Brian Davies. This year it invited some 50 members of the press to view the hunt and ferried them out to the treacherous ice floes by helicopter. Through the publicity generated by such trips Mr. Davies hopes to bring pressure on the Canadian Government to stop the hunt.

The aspect of the hunt that perhaps most inflames public sensitivity is the method of killing. Canadian hunters beat the pups in the head with a club the size of a baseball bat. Norwegians use a long, spiked pole called a hakapik. The white pups are skinned on the spot, and the pelts dragged to a marker where they are picked up at the day's end.

Though the scene is gruesome at best, conservationists generally consider these killing methods the most "humane," since the pups are said either to die with the first blow or be knocked unconscious and killed with a second or third clubbing. Regulations require that hunters hit each animal at least three times.

"It's not the method of killing I have a quarrel with," says Mr. Davies. "I'm sure it's the most humane way. . . . What makes me so angry is the absolute trash that the pelts are used for."

### Pelts used for trinkets

"They don't go to clothing, coats, or any necessary function whatsoever," Canadian officials concede that pelts go entirely for trinkets and souvenirs: change purses, key chains of fur-covered miniature seals, souvenir Eskimo moccasins, and trim for boots and coats.

Canada, through its Minister of Fisheries Romeo LeBlanc, firmly supports the seal hunt, calling it vital to the economies of Atlantic Coast areas, particularly Newfoundland, and saying it does not endanger the existence of the harp seal as a species.

Critics charge that the hunt is not only cruel but also is pushing the harp seal to extinction, perhaps by the end of this century. "The Canadian Government doesn't care about letting the harp seal become extinct. They could care less," claims Patrick Moore of Greenpeace, an organization somewhat more militant than IFAW in its protest of the seal killings. "The entire thing is a political and economic issue. The government is acutely aware that if they ban the hunt they can kiss the maritime provinces' vote good-bye."

A recent Gallup poll, however, shows 70 percent of Canadians want the hunt stopped.

### Seal population figures vary

Minister of Fisheries for Newfoundland Walter Carter points to government figures showing a current herd count of 1.2 million seals. He says the population is increasing steadily to a maximum yield level of 1.6 million. Government spokesmen concede, however, that the primary counting method consists of fisheries department officials walking through the herd and "getting a feeling" for its size.

Government scientists also take into account projections for mortality and birth rates. Based on the figure of 1.2 million, the Canadian fisheries department raised the quota for this year's kill from the 1976 level of 120,000 to 170,000 seals.

"They generally take the most optimistic view," says one scientist, "and do not have any scientific method for counting."

Dr. Moore claims "the government takes the highest figures anyone is offering." The seals have been impossible to count from the air because the white pups blend in with the ice, observers note.

### Better counting method

David Lavigne of the University of Guelph in Ontario devised a more accurate counting method in 1976, and his survey for that year shows the harp seal population to be



Norwegian hunter raises 'hakapik'

much smaller than government projections. Using ultraviolet photography — with which the seals show up as hot dots in a picture — Dr. Lavigne calculated only 625,000 seals, according to staff member Stewart Innes. That is only about half what the government estimates.

"Based on what we know from that study we would have recommended a much smaller quota for this year. But the quotas center around a lot of politics that involve people-type issues [jobs and votes] and do not fit into the well-being of the seals," says Mr. Innes.

He adds that Dr. Lavigne's survey for 1977 is funded partially by the Canadian Government and will have a bearing on setting next year's quotas. Calculating the results means hand counting several million dots on over 4,000 picture frames, he says, so this year's count will not be ready until July.

Mr. Davies' arrival in St. Anthony to publicize the hunt this year sparked considerable local anger, unlike previous years when he has been pretty much ignored, says IFAW spokesman Michael Almer. When the six helicopters — one owned by IFAW and others that were chartered — set down behind the Viking Motel near St. Anthony, where reporters were staying, on March 8 they were surrounded by about 300 men from St. Anthony and nearby towns.

Local protest leader Roy Pilgrim of St. Anthony vowed a 24-hour picket line around the choppers to keep them grounded. "Our intention is that Brian Davies won't be going anywhere," he told a group of newsmen. "After 10 years of Davies and his protest we fishermen are fed up."

### Paid protesters

Newfoundland government spokesman Randy Devine admitted Newfoundland had paid 100 men a total of \$7,000 to be bused to St. Anthony and protest IFAW's activities.

Although the local residents do not participate in the white pup hunt (that part of the hunt is undertaken by large commercial ships — 13 this year — which deposit hunters on the ice), they do hunt the harp seal in April, when the ice floes bring the herd closer to shore. By then the pups have moulted and become larger and darker "beater" seals, weighing at least 100 pounds.

This "landman" hunt lasts one month and figures heav-



The hunted

ily in the local economy. It is ingrained in Newfoundland tradition.

Most of the men fish for a living, but the ice packs for the fishing season to June through October. For the following six months most of these fishermen collect unemployment insurance, as there is little other employment in the area. A few small logging operations and a hospital provide a few jobs.

### Extra income

When spring brings the ice floes close to shore seal hunting offers the landmen extra income and a break from long winter. Before the main roat was put in, it offered them their first fresh meat after six months of beef. They walk out on the ice or take small boats to shoot or not the "beater" harp seals, selling the pelts (which go for clothing), the meat, and the flippers — considered a delicacy in Newfoundland — for \$32, fishermen say.

"Everybody goes seal hunting," says William Kaula, a nearby Quirpon. "Kids stay home from school to hunt and I started when I was 15. People have hunted seals since the first white man settled in Newfoundland. The Indians hunted seals before Europeans came to Canada."

"No way is the money a man makes from fishing going to tide him over through the year. . . . I'd say the average income from fishing is \$3,000 to \$4,000," says Joseph A. head, Mayor of St. Anthony and himself a fisherman's sealer for 32 years. "If any man who is wrestling his life from the sea . . . can earn an extra \$1,000 it is good."

Just how much extra income the landmen earn is a subject of some confusion. Newfoundland fisheries minister Carter claims the total amount is \$1.5 million. The federal Department of Fisheries and Environment in Ottawa says the 4,000 Newfoundland participants earn a total of \$900,000 — only \$150 each. One St. Anthony fisherman, this reporter he earned \$1,900 last year in one month's sealing.

A commercial, white-pup hunter said in an interview the ice that he expects to take about 50 pelts per day; two weeks this spring. A hunter for 38 years, he said, he made \$1,300.

### Seal quota increased

The landmen's quota was increased to 62,000 this year, according to the Department of Fisheries and Environment. Last year the landmen's quota was 30,000 seals; they took double that number.

Mr. Davies offered Newfoundland direct compensation for the commercial hunters' earnings to stop the seal hunt and start a new local industry. Government officials rejected that offer as "emotional blackmail."

IFAW is one of the few wildlife organizations not dependent on funds. Its yearly operating budget is about \$1 million, and the organization owns, among other pieces of equipment, a twin-engine plane and a helicopter worth nearly \$600,000.

Although Mr. Davies concentrates his protest on the white pup hunt ("since we probably cannot stop the landmen's hunt"), Mr. Pilgrim and others view his efforts as a threat to their tradition and pocketbooks. "Once he gets out of the commercial hunt, he'll lose no time coming back to us."

Kenneth Meeker, a news producer based in Newfoundland for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, said that there is considerable resentment among Newfoundlanders over being told what to do by an "outsider" (Mr. Davies lives in British Columbia.)

### A 'sensitive' people

"You also have to understand the Newfoundlanders are a very sensitive people, and they don't like being portrayed as the world as cruel and barbaric," he said.

"We have been tainted internationally by so-called conservationists who like to spread the word that we are a bunch of ruthless, insensitive barbarians," he said.

In an emotional speech to residents and the press, Mr. Davies said that the seal hunt is a vital part of the life of the people of St. Anthony and the surrounding area.

About 80 Royal Canadian Mounted Police were brought to the Viking Motel March 15 to remove the picket line and allow Mr. Davies to take off.

Witnessing the commercial hunt was an experience not easily forgotten. The white pups have large brown eyes, are immobile and defenseless on the ice, and make a noise like the cry of a child during the hunt.

"Barbaric and cruel" did not describe the hunters I saw.

They were courteous and friendly and seemed to take the same attitude toward their jobs as men who work in slaughterhouses. "It's a living," said one. "I don't like it, but it's what I do."

Indeed, Mr. Carter points out that "if a seal pup had a face like a pig, it probably wouldn't matter to anyone."

After this year's hunt Mr. Davies plans to protest about it for college campuses. "All over North America we want to enlist tactical teams to come to Newfoundland next March and visibly protest the seal hunt. We also plan to organize protests of the hunt outside of Canadian embassies in several countries to bring as much pressure as possible on the Canadian Government. We expect to see some progress along those lines."

# financial

## High wages drive industries out of Australia

By Ronald Vickers  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia  
A number of Australian companies are setting up shop in Asia to offset high labor costs and industrial disputes at home.

This trend to "offshore" manufacture is adding to unemployment lines in Australia, where the jobless rate is running at 5.7 percent.

One of the latest firms to go offshore is the multinational Dunlop Company, which recently announced it would build a new footwear plant in the Philippines. Profits from the low-cost Philippines operation, which will supply Australian and Asian markets, would help balance the high costs in Australia, the company explained.

"Everybody goes seal hunting," says William Kaula, a nearby Quirpon. "Kids stay home from school to hunt and I started when I was 15. People have hunted seals since the first white man settled in Newfoundland. The Indians hunted seals before Europeans came to Canada."

Bert Evans, assistant director of the Metal Trades Association, explains the general situation: "There is an increasing trend for member firms to set up factories in Asia. It was quite unheard of five years ago."

"Members are switching from manufacturing to importing, and we'll never get back to the employment levels we had before 1974."

He blamed high wages and low tariffs for the trend.

Australian workers recently won rapid improvements in their wages. Coal miners in Queensland earned an average of \$18.60, and New South Wales miners, \$24.10 a week last year.

Some Australian workers have forged ahead of their U.S. counterparts in wage levels and benefits. Airline employees here, for example, earn 15 percent more than their American colleagues.

In addition, all workers get a minimum four weeks paid annual vacation, and most get a 17½ percent vacation bonus.

Mr. Beesley, a former staff member of the Gemological Institute, says that the oiling of emeralds "is an accepted trade practice" — but that "I don't consider it an acceptable practice. . . . We have people coming back in the lab saying, 'We don't know what's happening, but it [the emerald they purchased elsewhere] is losing its color.'"

Maurice Shire, a respected New York City emerald specialist, says, "We can spot the emeralds that are dyed" — and that absolutely none of the emeralds sold by famed gem retailers such as Tiffany's or Harry Winston's are soaked with a coloring ingredient. But he added it is possible that \$10-a-carat emeralds sold by other stores are dyed.

The process of oiling emeralds hides flaws or imperfections, and using a green oil makes them look greener. Mr. Beesley says even the emerald wholesaler may be fooled by a previously tinted emerald. He adds that dyeing emeralds is common practice in stones that are available to the average U.S. retail jeweler.

Several midtown jewelry stores are doing land-office business selling emeralds at a current price of \$8 a carat.

Mr. Shire says these emeralds "look like pebbles you put in the fish tank," but one owner told the Monitor: "We have never dyed emeralds."

"If you've been to Colombia," she said, "whatever you take out of the mountain, out of the rock, is emerald. We've got kilos of emeralds. Everybody should be able to enjoy emeralds. 'Why must it be a \$6,000 emerald?' . . . Emeralds are everybody's best friend."

## Harsh winter leaves U.S. with high fuel bills

By Harry B. Ellis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Record imports of oil have helped run up a U.S. foreign trade deficit in January and February of \$3.54 billion — more than half of last year's total shortfall of \$5.9 billion.

In 1975, by contrast, when Americans were still selling more goods abroad than they were buying, the United States chalked up a record trade surplus of more than \$11 billion.

Harsh winter weather played a role in causing the U.S. to suffer two successive record months of trade deficit: \$1.87 billion in February, following \$1.87 billion worth of red ink in January.

But the underlying trend — more imports

than exports — is shown by the fact that every month since May of last year U.S. trade has been in deficit.

Because the United States snapped out of the 1972-75 recession more quickly than most of its industrial partners, Americans stepped up their imports of foreign goods, while other nations lagged in purchases of U.S. products.

U.S. readiness to run large trade deficits was hailed by the Ford and Carter administrations as evidence of American willingness to provide an expanding market for other nations and thus boost them toward recovery.

Dragging down the U.S., however, is a growing American appetite for foreign petroleum. The nation paid \$3.3 billion for overseas oil in February, reports the Commerce Department,

and may run up a total oil bill of \$40 billion in 1977.

American sales of U.S. farm products, which bring in about \$22 billion yearly, plus exports of manufactured goods, appear unable to match the outflow of dollars to pay for foreign oil and other goods.

Rising prices of imported coffee and cocoa, says a U.S. Department of Agriculture official, may cut into the huge surplus traditionally earned by U.S. farm exports.

The U.S. is not alone in facing mammoth oil deficits. The latest price hike by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), inaugurated Jan. 1, will cost the nine-nation European Community \$3.2 billion more this year, Japan an additional \$1.7 billion, and the United States an extra \$2.7 billion, according to Guido Brunner, in charge of energy policy for the European Commission.

(Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates raised oil prices 5 percent Jan. 1. The 11 other members of OPEC boosted prices 10 percent. World oil prices have risen more than 400 percent since 1973.)

American exports, in addition to partially offsetting U.S. import bills, contribute about 10 percent to the nation's total output of goods and provide jobs for more than 8 million Americans.

The United States "always ran trade surpluses until 1971, when the first deficit occurred. Since then, the record has been up and down, with a shortfall in 1972, surplus in 1973, deficit in 1974, record surplus the next year, and then deeper and deeper into red ink."

Along with increased prices for coffee, beverage drinkers can expect to pay more for tea in 1977. This is partly because of increased world demand and partly because of drought conditions in Africa and Sri Lanka. Troubles in Uganda and other shipping facilities in Mozambique have added to the world's tea shortage.

Industry forecasts show that a typical quarter-pound of tea, which retailed in 1970 for about 16 cents, will sell for about 40 cents in April of this year — maybe as high as 55 cents in June.

Katmandu, Nepal  
Saudi Arabia will provide a \$30 million interest-free loan

The small city's center, refurbished, the vessel offers individual phones, air conditioning, and valet service. Public rooms provide secretarial, translator, services, telecommunications, foreign exchange, and airline facilities.

Saudis to lend Nepal \$30 million

By reading across this table of last Tuesday's mid-day inter-

### Foreign exchange cross-rates

By reading across this table of last Tuesday's mid-day interbank foreign exchange rates, one can find the value of the major currencies in the national currencies of each of the following financial centers. These rates do not take into account bank service charges. (c) = commercial rate.

	U.S. Dollar	British Pound	French Franc	German Mark	Japanese Yen	Swiss Franc
U.S. Dollar	1.0000	.7197	6.5596	1.9364	360.73	2.0048
British Pound	1.4033	1.0000	16.33	2.48	504.81	2.8067
French Franc	0.1523	0.0612	1.0000	6.55	136.63	3.0033
German Mark	0.5193	0.2016	0.1523	1.0000	35.36	4.7566
Japanese Yen	0.0027	0.0020	0.0073	0.0280	1.0000	0.0094
Swiss Franc	0.4936	0.3571	0.3333	0.2083	106.76	1.0000

The following are U.S. dollar values only: Argentine peso: 0.0228; Australian dollar: 1.068; Danish krone: 16.01; Italian lira: 201.12; Japanese yen: 360.73; New Zealand dollar: 0.692; South African rand: 1.1812.

Source: First National Bank of Boston

### Dubai visitors stay in a floating hotel

Businessmen flying the boom-money route to the Persian Gulf worry about hotel reservations — confirmed ahead or not. However, they need worry no more if their destination is Dubai, the second-largest of the oil-producing United Arab Emirates.

Chandris shipowners have moored the 180-stateroom ship Bon Vivant close to

the small city's center. Refurbished, the vessel offers individual phones, air conditioning, and valet service. Public rooms provide secretarial, translator, services, telecommunications, foreign exchange, and airline facilities.

Saudis to lend Nepal \$30 million

Katmandu, Nepal  
Saudi Arabia will provide a \$30 million interest-free loan

### INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS HIGHLIGHTS

to Nepal for road construction and hydroelectric projects, the finance ministry reported last Friday.

The announcement came 10 days after the two countries established diplomatic relations.

Price of tea to climb in '77

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Katmandu, Nepal  
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## people

## 'Our time is too precious not to dance'

New York City Ballet's Patricia McBride, Jean-Pierre Bonnefous blend happy marriage with a passionate dedication to their art

By Jo Ann Levine  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York  
"We met backstage — and Jean-Pierre was thunderstruck," said dancer Patricia McBride, half-mockingly.

"That was true," nodded Jean-Pierre Bonnefous, wholeheartedly.

The couple, both principal dancers with the New York City Ballet, were at home in their co-op apartment a couple of blocks from the New York State Theater in Lincoln Center, their dancing home six months of the year.

Although their homemaking industriousness is apparent (Mr. Bonnefous had scraped all the paint off the staircase which they moved from the hall into their two-story living room and is currently working on the fireplace), this couple is interested mainly in dancing.

"We don't like having free time," said Miss McBride, who figures she will dance for 10 more years. "We feel that our time is too precious not to dance."

## Soloist at 17

She rather enjoys telling people that she has been with the New York City Ballet for 18 years. She was 16 years old when she became a member of the ballet corps and 17 when she was named a soloist with the company. Since 1961 she has been a principal dancer.

## 'The real Pat is on the stage'

Over the weekend, Miss McBride had danced with her husband in "Coppella" on Saturday afternoon, had substituted for Ray Brazzo in the "Pas de Deux in B Minor" with music by Tchaikovsky on Saturday night, and, on Sunday night, had danced again with Mr. Bonnefous in the ballet, "Union Jack."

Miss McBride has a low-key manner: her voice is quiet, her speech drawn out, and her movements slow and easy. She looks a lot more innocent at home than she does on the stage, when she turns her smile to an audience which knows her and loves her.

"The real Pat is on the stage," said Mr. Bonnefous as he gave her a little poke.

Jean-Pierre Bonnefous joined the New York City Ballet in 1970. Since he was 21, he had been a dancer with the Paris Opera, a guest artist with the Kirov, Bolshoi, La Scala, and Frankfurt ballet companies, and with the Andre Egervsky School.

"I feel like I stay myself," said Miss McBride. Added Mr. Bonnefous, "That's the reason our marriage works. Mr. B. [George Balanchine, director] realized that I didn't change and Pat didn't change."

In some ballet companies there are more couples than in the New York City Ballet. Both dancers agreed it is hard for dancers to meet "people on the outside."

Said Miss McBride, "I don't think that most men understand the devotion that a dancer has to give. I think it takes a very special kind of man that will accept for his wife to be in the theater all day. You know, you are there all day long — class is at 11 o'clock in the morning; rehearsals go all afternoon from 12 to 6; then, at 6, you eat and put on your makeup for the performance at 8."

## Rehearsals monopolize time

"We don't rehearse everyday from 12 to 6," added Mr. Bonnefous. "But you find that you rehearse so many hours that it won't be really worth it to go outside for an hour."

The New York City Ballet winter season is November, December, January, and February. Another season is May and June, and the company dances in Saratoga, New York, for four weeks in July.

"We aren't like the average show. We don't do the same thing day in and day out," Miss McBride explained. "We have constant changing of programs and partners."

The week after this interview, the company

went to the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C., for three weeks. Dance critic Alan M. Kriegsman of the Washington Post began his first review with a question: "Why is the New York City Ballet the greatest ballet company on the face of the earth? . . . To start with, there'll be 19 ballets (from an active repertoire of 75) . . ."

## Products of two men

In addition he pointed out that the 19 works are entirely the products of two men: George Balanchine and Jerome Robbins. "For this there is no parallel among other companies,"

## 'I've never asked to dance with Jean-Pierre'

here or abroad, in this century or in any other," Mr. Kriegsman wrote.

"The repertoire is marvelous, wonderful," said Miss McBride, who had danced in seven of the eight performances the week before in New York.

For years, Miss McBride danced often with Edward Villella. Now, she often dances with her husband.

Is it a forced partnership? Is it something they are doing because it is, well, handy?

"Handy!" exclaimed Mr. Bonnefous. "I like the word, 'handy.'"

## Never asked to be partners

"I've never asked to dance with Jean-Pierre and he has never asked to dance with me, right?" said Miss McBride. "I have never asked to dance with anyone else, either. . . . Balanchine is the boss. Half the company, at least, would get killed for him, if they had to."

"No," said Mr. Bonnefous, "I think everybody."

One of the couple's duets is in "Union Jack," where they dance as the Pearly King and the Pearly Queen and the pearly buttons fall from their heavy costumes and sprinkle the stage.

"They started to sew the buttons on," said Miss McBride, "but they gave up and glued them. That's why they keep flying off."

She added, "Clive Barnes wrote two articles (in the New York Times) saying what a disaster 'Union Jack' was. And you know, the public came anyway, and they loved it — and he had to take his words back. He said, 'You know, it's not so bad, after all — actually it is quite good.'"

Miss McBride, who became more emotional than she had been all afternoon, said, "How can you not like it? . . . You can't say that the New York City Ballet is bad because with Balanchine and Robbins, it's where ballet is at today. They are really the great men of ballet in the 1970s."

## 'You can't better what Balanchine has done'

Choreography, not stunts

The couple spoke of dancers in other companies who are called upon to do "circus tricks" to show how high they can jump or how fast they can turn. The dancers at the New York City Ballet, they said, are more interested in choreographies than in showing themselves in a ballet.

Said Mr. Bonnefous, "Some ballets were originally choreographed in 1841, and who remembers what the steps were? Dancers do what they want in them."

Said Miss McBride, "We don't want to change our steps. It's disrespectful to want to change them. You can't better what Balanchine has done and you can't better what Jerome Robbins has done — there's no way. Mr. B. is there; he takes care of everything — and he has a great memory!"

"I think we're really lucky. And I think we realize that."



Patricia McBride and Jean-Pierre Bonnefous on the stairs



Patricia McBride and Jean-Pierre Bonnefous on the stage — Pearly King and Queen in 'Union Jack'

## On Malta tourists are a centuries-old tradition

By Louise Purwin Zobel  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

St. Paul, whose planned itineraries included much of the first century world, landed on Malta by mistake. But the Maltese welcomed him with the same warm hospitality they extend to visitors today.

The book of Acts in the Bible tells how a violent storm hit the grain ship carrying Paul to Nero's court, and St. Luke, who accompanied Paul on his visit here, reports on the hospitality the Maltese extended to their shipwrecked guests. They kindled a fire on the beach in the cold rainy morning, then wanted to help the shivering visitors ashore.

St. Paul would still feel at home here. Valletta's Grand Harbor, the Phoenician-designed ghettos, with painted eyes glaring from the bows, would be familiar to him. Familiar, too, would be the Maltese language. Although years of British rule have lent Malta a British veneer (with street signs, menus, and

books in English, and dome-helmeted "bobbies" directing left-sided traffic), among themselves the Maltese still speak an ancient Maltese tongue. Goats still wander among the speakers in Middle Eastern-style bazaars, and the black-shrouded hoops (daldettas, they're called) still bob up and down all over the island, modestly concealing the heads and faces of Maltese women.

St. Paul, the old capital, which looks like an illustrated medieval manuscript, the Cathedral houses a silver-cased picture of the Virgin Mary.

Near the Mdina Cathedral a cheerful attendant welcomes visitors to the white-walled cave where Paul is said to have spent three months. The Maltese eagerly embraced Christianity, and their descendants are intensely proud of the apostolic origin of their religion.

A nearby Roman villa shows the taste, refinement, and prosperity prevalent on Roman Malta. Did Paul perhaps dine at this hospitable villa and admire the three-dimensional effect of the magnificent mosaic floor? Later this pagan home, now a museum, was used for a more commercial establishment — an olive-oil factory.

In Valletta, the "new" capital built by the Knights of Malta, steep arrow-straight streets meet each other. Tall, multi-balconied houses, hung together by lines of dripping laundry, and 19th-century skyscrapers and modern

Why are the steps so shallow leading to the block-square Palace of the Grand Masters? They were built to be negotiated by a knight in full armor on horseback. These knights of the eight-pointed Maltese Cross were originally a hospitaller order of European noblemen who moved from Rhodes to Malta in the 16th century.

After Grand Master Jean de la Valette defended Malta against the encroachment of Islam and sent Sultan Suleiman's invaders slinking back to Constantinople, church bells rang throughout Europe, with services of thanksgiving in every Christian country. Grateful Christian kings sent elegant gifts to the knights, and La Valette built the beautiful new city of Valletta.

At St. John's Co-Cathedral each national group has tried to outdo the others in decoration of individual chapels. A visitor can see marble inlaid floors, frescoed ceilings, gilded carvings, and statues studded with precious stones.

The magnificent silver gates in the French chapel were painted black to fool Napoleon's looting soldiers into thinking them valueless. Although Napoleon himself spent only a few days on Malta, his influence was strongly disruptive. In 1800 the British helped the Maltese oust the French, and the country remained a British possession until 1964.

Today the tiny Maltese Islands (Malta, smaller Gozo, and several nearly uninhabited islets), all face serious financial problems. With native earth so poor that knights once imported topsoil for truck gardens, and erosion so severe that the surrounding sea turns brown with Maltese mud after a rain, the 330,000 Maltese must always import more raw materials than they export.

One solution may be increasing tourism. The mild climate, abundant beaches, and easy access from continental Europe beckon visitors. Archaeological excavations, art treasures, and sports amenities make Malta a promising new frontier.

Malta is ready for tourists, with food and lodging to fit every budget, from Hilton and Sheraton luxury to family-style pensions.

A beach-front lunch at the Sliema resort area includes such delicacies as Lampuka fish pie, stuffed eggplant, and octopus stew, topped off with English custard, Italian pastries, and American peppermints, and punctuated by a dozen waiters asking, "Is there anything else you would like?"

## travel



Mosaic floor, Malta

History has filled Malta with treasure

By James R. Holland

## For the economy-minded Europe begins at Dijon

By Kimmis Hendrick  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

For Eurailpass travelers — or for anyone roving around Europe by car, bus, or train — it would be hard to find a more agreeable base of operations than Dijon.

Not only is it close to Paris, Geneva, and Zurich, it's on a direct route to Strasbourg and Metz. It's also on main routes to Germany, Luxembourg, and the Low Countries in one direction, and in the other, to Italy.

Major Trans-European Express trains stop here, not to mention some 20 other first- and second-class trains, many of them fast.

But that's not the best of it. Dijon can rescue you from Paris's high prices and jammed hotels. We found recently that at the Hotel du Nord here, for about \$12, you can get an attractive double room plus breakfast — half what we paid in Paris for similar accommodations.

The Nord is the kind of pretty French inn that vacationers dream about, furnished with antiques and managed with concern for guests' comfort.

The food was even more outstanding than the atmosphere. In the hotel's restaurant we were served the kind of gourmet dinner for which France is famous — even though such meals are hard to find. The beef bourguignon was perfect, and it cost only about \$8 each.

The first time we came here, the annual gastronomic fair was in full swing — this happens each November — and we had to hunt for a hotel. We stayed at the Nord, which was perfectly adequate. Had we taken a room at the Chateau Rouge or another of several well-appointed hotels, we would doubtless have done as well. Dijon is noted for hospitality — and all of Burgundy is famous for cuisine.

Dijon is, of course, noted for fine mustard. Mr. Chamberlain recalls that the Duke of Burgundy gave a feast for King Philippe of Valois in 1339 at which 300 quarts of mustard were consumed. For us, though, Dijon's other noted delicacy is more appealing: that's cassis.

This juice of the black currant makes a refreshing drink. But this time the Nord served us a cassis ice for dessert that was delicate, delicious.

Dijon is a historic city, rich in architectural treasures. In addition to its central location, it's worth visiting.

Dijon people say that next to the Louvre, they have the most important Museum of Fine Arts in France. We would suspend judgment, saying only that we did enjoy the magnificent palace of the Dukes of Burgundy which houses their big collection.

This part of France overflows with history. A stop at Dijon makes possible a side trip to Vézelay, the village where Saint Bernard of Clairvaux preached the Second Crusade.

By planning ahead, it's still possible to get good moderately priced hotel accommodations in Paris. But for us, Dijon was close enough to the capital city when we couldn't find lodgings there.

Some months earlier we had the same experience over a holiday weekend and spent the night just northeast of Paris in Saint-Quentin. Here the Hotel de la Paix gave us, for \$10 double with breakfast, as pleasant a room as we've had anywhere in Europe. Everybody at the desk spoke English.

However, if we were recommending a fan-out tour of Europe and train connections were the key, I think we'd recommend Dijon. It would make easy northward trips to Bremen, Lubeck, Copenhagen, southward trips to the French Riviera and to Italy, eastward to Munich and Vienna, with this charming, memorable base.

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## Editorial

### L'énergie nucléaire est essentielle

Le rapport du groupe d'étude de la Fondation Ford sur l'énergie atomique est un document sérieux. Alors que son avis défavorable envers le réacteur électronucléaire a tenu la une des journaux, sa conclusion la plus significative est que les Etats-Unis ont néanmoins besoin d'énergie atomique. Cette étude approfondie d'une année n'a pu envisager aucun moyen de répondre au besoin d'énergie du pays de façon réaliste sans avoir recours à l'atome; et cela laisse probablement prévoir aussi la politique que le président Carter annoncera le 20 avril.

Pendant sa candidature Carter a parlé de l'énergie nucléaire comme de la source d'énergie à utiliser en « dernier recours ». Maintenant que l'équipe gouvernementale du président Carter a dû faire face aux faits de l'approvisionnement en énergie, des membres éminents comme Robert Fri, faisant fonction de chef de l'administration de la recherche énergétique et du développement, disent que les Etats-Unis doivent « recourir au dernier recours ».

Le raisonnement du groupe d'étude de la politique énergétique parrainé par la Fondation Ford symbolise la logique

qui impose une telle conclusion.

Ce groupe de 21 savants, tirés en grande partie du milieu universitaire, s'intéresse aux disciplines sociales et économiques plutôt qu'à la physique et à la mécanique. Il a examiné l'économie, la sécurité et les possibilités techniques de toutes les options du pays en matière d'énergie.

Ses conclusions sont peu de cas de l'importance, dans ce siècle, des sources d'énergie dénommées de remplacement — conservation, énergie géothermique, fusion, énergie solaire — bien qu'elles encouragent la poursuite de leur développement. Le groupe considère encore la fusion comme étant seulement une promesse qui sera réalisée par les générations futures. L'énergie géothermique est limitée géographiquement et dans sa totalité. La chaleur et le refroidissement solaires pourraient bientôt s'avérer utiles, mais leur portée sur l'utilisation générale de l'énergie sera faible. Quant à la conservation, bien que ce soit « l'un des moyens le plus efficace de rendre disponible davantage d'énergie », le groupe pense qu'elle ne peut pas compenser le besoin croissant d'énergie aux Etats-Unis.

Cela laisse l'atome, le charbon et la

dépendance sur le pétrole importé (que l'étude ne recommande pas) comme les options majeures.

Quant à l'économie et à la sécurité, l'étude trouve que l'énergie nucléaire et celle provenant de la combustion du charbon sont comparables. Les risques du charbon sur l'environnement — l'exploitation des mines à ciel ouvert et la pollution de l'air — contrebalancent les risques de la radioactivité de l'atome. Le prix plus élevé du charbon en tant que combustible contrebalance le coût effectif plus élevé de l'énergie nucléaire. A tout prendre, le groupe ne voit pas d'autre solution que d'avoir un mélange d'énergie nucléaire et de celle provenant du charbon, étant donné surtout qu'il ne voit pas comment l'extraction du charbon pourrait croître assez vite pour faire face à tous les besoins d'énergie.

Le plutonium et le réacteur électronucléaire sont une autre affaire. Le groupe ne les aime pas parce qu'il craint qu'ils ne stimulent la prolifération des armes nucléaires. Etant donné qu'il ne voit pas de raisons économiques pour favoriser actuellement le développement du « marché du plu-

tonium », et étant donné qu'il craint qu'il y ait une quantité importante d'uranium pour alimenter des réacteurs ordinaires, il supprime le projet actuel de réacteur électronucléaire et mettrait le développement du réacteur en veilleuse. A franchement parler, nous ne sommes pas sûrs quant à cette question.

En tout cas, il n'y a rien dans le pour réconforter soit les partisans acharnés de l'énergie nucléaire, les adversaires irréductibles. Nous sommes pas surpris. Chaque étude objective faite sur le problème de l'énergie aboutit à la conclusion que les Etats-Unis ont besoin de développer leurs options énergétiques, sans imposer aucune d'entre elles ni en exclure.

Il est temps que le pays envisage la situation avec réalisme. Nous tenons le développement vigoureux de diverses sources d'énergie et de technologies qui est fait de l'énergie atomique. Mais la crainte exagérée tendrait à tuer cette dernière, qu'elle compte naïvement sur la promesse encore vague de « solution de remplacement » est dangereuse et contreproductive.

### Atomenergie ist unentbehrlich

Der Bericht über Atomenergie, den das durch die Fordstiftung finanzierte Gremium veröffentlichte, ist ein ernüchterndes Dokument. Seine Unzufriedenheit mit dem Brutreaktor machte Schlagzeilen, doch sein noch bedeutungsvollerer Schluß ist der, daß die Vereinigten Staaten trotz allem Atomenergie benötigen. In dieser einjährigen intensiven Untersuchung sah man keine Möglichkeit, den Energiebedürfnissen des Landes ohne das Atom auf realistische Weise gerecht zu werden. Und dies ist wahrscheinlich auch ein Hinweis auf die energiepolitischen Pläne, die Präsident Carter am 20. April bekanntgeben wird.

Kandidat Carter sagte in bezug auf die Atomenergie, daß sie als eine Energiequelle der « letzten Ausweg » sei. Jetzt, nachdem Präsident Carters Verwaltungstab sich mit den Tatsachen der Energieversorgung hat auseinandergesetzt, erklären solche prominenten Mitglieder wie Robert Fri, amtierender Vorsitzender des Büros für Energieforschung und -entwicklung, daß die Vereinigten Staaten den « letzten Ausweg » benutzen müßten.

Die Argumentation des Gremiums, das sich mit der Atomenergie befaßt, ist kennzeichnend für die Logik, die zu solch einem Schluß führen muß.

Das Gremium setzte sich aus 21 Wissenschaftlern zusammen, die größtenteils aus dem Hochschulbereich kamen und mehr die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Disziplinen repräsentierten als die Physik oder das Ingenieurwesen. Der Ausschuss befaßte sich mit der Wirtschaftlichkeit, Sicherheit und technischen Durchführbarkeit aller Möglichkeiten, die dem Lande auf dem Energiebereich zur Verfügung stehen.

Der Beitrag, den die sogenannten Alternativen der Energiequellen — eingeschränkter Verbrauch, geothermische Energie, Fusion, Sonnenenergie — in diesem Jahrhundert geleistet haben, wird in dem Bericht sehr herabgesetzt, obgleich das Gremium auf die unmittelbare Entwicklung dieser Energiequellen drängt. Es betrachtet die Fusion noch immer nur als eine Verheißung, die von zukünftigen Generationen verwirklicht werden muß. Geothermische Energie ist geographisch und in dem Ertrag gelieferter Energie begrenzt. Heizung und Kühlung durch Sonnenenergie kann verhältnismäßig bald von Nutzen sein, doch es wird sich in nur geringer Maße auf den allgemeinen Energieverbrauch auswirken. Wenn auch eingeschränkter Verbrauch « eines der wirksamsten Mittel darstellt, um zusätzliche Energie zu gewinnen », kann dadurch, nach Ermessen des Gremiums, der zunehmende

Bedarf an Energie in den Vereinigten Staaten doch nicht gedeckt werden.

Es bleiben dann das Atom, die Kohle und die Abhängigkeit von der Öleinfuhr (was der Bericht nicht empfiehlt) als die hauptsächlichsten Möglichkeiten übrig.

In bezug auf die Wirtschaftlichkeit und Sicherheit ergaben die Untersuchungen, daß sie bei der Atom- und Kohlenenergie ungefähr gleich sind. Die Gefahren, die die Kohlegewinnung — Tagebau und Luftverschmutzung — für die Umwelt mit sich bringt, wiegen die radioaktiven Gefahren des Atoms auf. Die höheren Kosten der Kohle als Brennstoff wiegen den höheren Kapitalaufwand für Atomenergie auf. Alles in allem genommen, sieht das Gremium keine Alternative zur gleichzeitigen Nutzung der Atom- und Kohlenenergie — und zwar hauptsächlich deshalb, weil es keine Möglichkeit sieht, den Kohlebergbau schnell genug so weit zu fördern, daß er den ganzen Bedarf an Energie deckt.

Plutonium und der Brutreaktor sind eine andere Sache. Der Ausschuss ist diesen nicht freundlich gesinnt, weil er befürchtet, sie würden zur Verbreitung von Nuklearwaffen anregen. Da er im Augenblick keinen wirtschaftlichen Grund zur Entwicklung der « Plutonium-

Wirtschaft » sieht und da er es rechchnet, daß es genügend Uran gibt, wird, um die herkömmlichen Reaktoren mit Brennstoff zu versorgen, empfiehlt er, das gegenwärtige Projekt Brutreaktoren zu streichen und die Weiterentwicklung auf diesem Gebiet einzustellen. Offen gesagt, wir uns über diese Frage noch im Zweifel.

Auf jeden Fall enthält der Bericht nichts, was entweder den extremen fürwörter der Atomenergie oder der extremen Gegnern Behagen berechnete. Wir sind nicht überzeugt. Jede objektive Untersuchung, die zug auf das Energieproblem angewandt wurde, ergab, daß die Vereinigten Staaten alle ihre Energieoptionen entwickeln müssen — ohne auf ein einzelnes zu sehr Nachdruck zu legen oder sie völlig auszuschließen.

Es ist an der Zeit, daß sich das Land mit diesem Problem realistisch auseinandersetzt. Wir befürworten eine objektive Entwicklung unterschiedlicher Energiequellen und eine sorgfältige Prüfung der Atomenergie, aber die übertriebene Furcht, die die Entwicklung der Atomenergie erschrecken während wir uns auf die ungewissen Versprechungen von « Alternativen » verlassen, wäre eine gefährliche Fehlentscheidung.

### Nuclear energy is essential

The report of the Ford Foundation study group on nuclear power is a sobering document. While its disaffection with the breeder reactor has received the headlines, its most significant conclusion is that the United States, nonetheless, needs nuclear power. This year-long intensive study could see no way realistically to meet the country's energy need without the atom; and that probably foreshadows the policy President Carter will announce April 20, too.

Candidate Carter spoke of nuclear power as the energy source of « last resort. » Now that President Carter's administrative team has had to face the facts of energy supply, such prominent members as Robert Fri, acting head of the Energy Research and Development Administration, are saying that the United States has to « resort to the last resort. »

The reasoning of the Ford-sponsored Nu-

clear Energy Policy Study Group typifies the logic that compels such a conclusion.

This group of 21 scholars was drawn largely from the academic community and weighted toward social and economic disciplines, rather than physics or engineering. It looked into the economics, safety, and technical feasibility of all of the country's energy options.

Its findings strongly discount the contribution in this century of so-called alternative energy sources — conservation, geothermal, fusion, solar — although it urges pushing their development. It considers fusion still to be only a promise to be realized by future generations. Geothermal energy is limited geographically and in total amount. Solar heating and cooling can be helpful fairly soon, but the impact on overall energy use will be small. As for conservation, while it is « one of the most effective means of making available additional energy », the group feels it cannot offset the growing

need for power in the United States.

That leaves the atom, coal, and reliance on imported oil (which the study does not recommend) as the major options.

As to economics and safety, the study finds nuclear and coal power to be comparable. Environmental hazards of coal — strip mining and air pollution — offset the radioactive hazards of the atom. The higher costs of coal as fuel offset the higher capital costs of nuclear power. On balance, the group sees no alternative to having some mix of nuclear energy and coal power, especially as it sees no way coal mining could grow fast enough to meet all the energy need.

Plutonium and the breeder reactor are another matter. The group dislikes these because it fears they would stimulate the spread of nuclear weapons. Since it sees no economic reason for developing « the plutonium economy » now, and since it expects there will be plenty

of uranium to fuel ordinary reactors, it cannot see the present breeder project as a breeder development on the back of the breeder. Frankly speaking, we are not yet ready to answer this question.

In any case, there is nothing in the report to comfort either extreme advocates of power or extreme opponents. We are surprised at that. Every objective study has been made, of the energy problem, and the conclusion is that the United States needs to develop all its energy options, neither over-relying on any one, nor foreclosing any of them.

It is time for the country to face the energy problem realistically. We support the development of alternate sources of energy, but we urge a balanced, scrupulous, and realistic study of nuclear power. But the exaggerated fear that will kill off the latter while blindly following the still vague promises of « alternatives » is a dangerously misguided.

# French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]  
Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum  
[Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine]

## A quoi vous attendez-vous ?

peu de temps je pus marcher normalement. Toutefois, un matin, quelques semaines plus tard, je me suis de nouveau réveillé avec de grandes douleurs. Je me suis tout d'abord dit que la maladie revenait me tourmenter. Je pus surmonter cette crainte uniquement en me tournant vers Dieu. J'ai songé aux paroles du Psalmiste citées plus haut. J'ai compris que si mon espérance venait de Dieu, qui est le bien infini, je ne pouvais m'attendre qu'au bien. Immédiatement la crainte a disparu comme aussi la douleur, et les symptômes ne se sont plus jamais présentés.

S'attendre au bien ouvre la pensée à l'espoir et à la confiance illimitée dans le bien. Dieu est l'Entendement divin, et l'homme, en tant qu'image spirituelle de Dieu, exprime l'Intelligence de l'Entendement. Telle est la vérité de l'être. Mais

l'entendement humain est incapable de faire face à ses croyances au bien et au mal, et des vues négatives de la vie et de ses perspectives étouffent souvent l'intention et le désir justes, de progresser.

Il est bon de se demander souvent : Qu'est-ce que j'espère réellement ? Si la pensée est ouverte aux idées justes venant de Dieu, l'Entendement divin, nous verrons que le pouvoir de l'Intelligence divine soutient chaque pas spirituel en avant.

Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreur et Fondateur de la Science Chrétienne, écrit : « Quand le but est désirable, l'expectative hâte nos progrès. » Comment savons-nous si nos desirs sont justes et si nos buts sont bons ? En nous tournant vers Dieu en prière. En désirant faire ce qui nous aidera le mieux à exprimer ce que nous

sommes en réalité — le reflet spirituel du bien infini, l'image parfaite de Dieu.

A bon nombre de nos desirs légitimes, l'existence humaine répond négativement. Elle dit que nous sommes trop pauvres, trop jeunes, trop vieux, trop faibles ou cernés de limitations matérielles. Mais Dieu ne nous dit pas cela. Notre Dieu est le même Dieu qui ordonna à Moïse et à son peuple d'avancer, face à la mer, alors que les Egyptiens les poursuivaient de près. Mais ce qui semblait impossible au sens matériel des choses céda et ils traversèrent la mer vers la Terre promise.

Quand nous prions pour obtenir la compréhension spirituelle, la direction que nous recherchons est à notre portée. « Le désir, c'est la prière; et nous ne pouvons rien perdre en confiant nos desirs à Dieu, afin qu'ils soient façonnés et exaltés avant de prendre forme en paroles et en actions. » Ainsi s'exprime Mrs. Eddy. Nous sommes en terrain sûr quand nos expectatives s'appuient sur des desirs justes.

1° Psaume 82:6; 2° Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures, p. 426; 3° Science et Santé, p. 1.  
\* Christian Science (traduction allemande)

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures » de Mary Baker Eddy, écrite avec la même angélique en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, 6 rue de la Science, Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

## Die heilende Berührung der Liebe Gottes

In der Bibel verheißt uns Gott: „Dich will ich wieder gesund machen und deine Wunden heilen.“

Wollen Sie sich mehr der heilenden Fürsorge Gottes bewußt sein? Vielleicht sollten Sie Ihr Verständnis von Gott erweitern und vertiefen. Ein Buch, das Ihnen dabei helfen kann, ist Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift von Mary Baker Eddy. Es enthält die immer gegenwärtige Güte Gottes, Seine Macht und Seine Liebe.

Wissenschaft und Gesundheit spricht von Gottes Unwandelbarkeit und Seinem Gesetz, dem Heilen durch Gebet. Das Buch kann Ihnen zeigen, wie Heilung und Erneuerung in Ihr Leben kommen können, wenn Sie Ihre Auffassung von Gott und dem Menschen ändern. Es zeigt Ihnen, wie die biblischen Verheißungen sich erfüllen, Sie können das Buch erhalten, wenn Sie sich an die folgende Adresse wenden:

Miss Frances C. Carlson  
Publisher's Agent  
One Norway Street  
Boston, MA, USA 02115  
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Die Redensart: „Man bekommt, was man erwartet“ veranlaßt uns oft, darüber nachzudenken, was wir wirklich für uns selbst erwarten. Die Redensart mag nicht unbedingt zutreffen, doch unsere menschlichen Verhältnisse werden in hohem Maße von unseren Erwartungen beeinflusst.

Die Christliche Wissenschaft lehrt, daß wir nur Gutes erwarten können, da Gott, das unendliche Gute, die göttliche Liebe, für den Menschen sorgt und ihn regiert. Wir müssen jedoch lernen, uns auf Gottes Führung zu verlassen. Der Psalmist sagte: „Sei mir stille zu Gott, meine Seele; denn er ist meine Hoffnung.“

Ich wurde einmal durch christlich-wissenschaftliche Behandlung von Rheumalimus geheilt. Ich hatte starke Schmerzen gehabt, konnte aber innerhalb kurzer Zeit wieder ohne jede Behinderung laufen. Einige Wochen später wachte ich jedoch eines Morgens erneut mit starken Schmerzen auf. Mein erster Gedanke war, daß das Problem zurückgekommen sei, um mich zu peinigen. Ich konnte diese Furcht nur dadurch überwinden, daß ich mich an Gott wandte. Ich dachte an die oben zitierten Worte des Psalmisten und sah ein, daß ich nur Gutes erwarten konnte, wenn Gott, das unendliche Gute ist, meine Hoffnung war. Die Furcht wich augenblicklich, und mit ihr wichen die Schmerzen, und die Symptome sind nicht wieder aufgetreten.

Wenn wir Gutes erwarten, öffnen wir

unser Denken für Hoffnung und grenzenloses Vertrauen auf das Gute. Gott ist göttliches Ebenbild, und der Mensch, Gottes geistiges Ebenbild, bringt die Intelligenz des Gemüts zum Ausdruck. Dies ist die Wahrheit des Seins. Aber das menschliche Gemüß ist unfähig, mit seinen Annahmen von Gut und Böse fertig zu werden, und die negative Haltung dem Leben und seinen Möglichkeiten gegenüber erstickt rechte Absichten und das Verlangen nach Fortschritt.

Wir tun gut daran, uns oft zu fragen: „Was erwarte ich wirklich?“ Wenn das Denken empfänglich ist für die richtigen Ideen, die von Gott, dem göttlichen Gemüß, zu uns kommen, werden wir sehen, daß die Macht der göttlichen Intelligenz jeden gelistigen Schritt vorwärts stützt.

Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, schreibt: „Ist das Ziel begehrenswert, dann beschleunigt die Erwartung unseren Fortschritt.“ Wie wissen wir, ob unsere Wünsche recht und unsere Ziele gut sind? Wenn wir uns im Gebet an Gott wenden; wenn uns danach verlangt, das zu tun, wodurch wir am besten das ausdrücken können, was wir wirklich sind: die gelistige Widerspiegelung des unendlichen Guten, das vollkommene Ebenbild Gottes.

Die menschliche Erfahrung versagt uns viele unserer rechten Wünsche. Sie sagt, daß wir zu arm, zu jung, zu alt, zu



Horseback riding, Concord, Massachusetts





'Orangerie' 1969: Steel sculpture by Anthony Caro

Courtesy of The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

## Caro: framing the abstract

If I said that Anthony Caro's "Orangerie" makes a point of its abstractness, you might guess the sense of this remark from looking at a photograph of the work. But the obvious question would be: what is its abstractness?

Even a photograph conveys the idea that its abstractness is something more than its failure to resemble anything recognizable. This sculpture happens to lend itself well to being photographed; it is more vertical and more graphically composed than many of Caro's works. However, in a photograph it is easy to miss the importance of the fact that the sculpture sits directly on the floor, something you can't miss when you're in the presence of it.

Caro, a British sculptor, is widely credited with inventing a mode of sculpture that can dispense with a base or any such convention

to signify its detachment from the huggier, muggier reality of everyday affairs. And once the conventional "framing" device is eliminated, the problem arises as to how a sculpture can be abstract and still convey its difference from all sorts of other objects that also don't happen to represent anything. It is because Caro has repeatedly solved this problem in the very activity of making it explicit that he is regarded as a master of "constructed" sculpture. ("Constructed" sculpture differs from the traditional techniques of carving and casting by being the aggregation of already distinct elements. In Caro's case, scraps of industrially preformed steel.)

Caro works by improvising, choosing a bunch of steel shapes and arranging them now one way, now another, until he arrives at

a composition that he feels has a coherence of its own, independent of any possible reference to the realities surrounding it. When he succeeds in this (and it is surprisingly easy to see when this happens), his sculptures seem to withdraw into a dimension of their own, coincident with but not the same as the real space in which one stands while looking at them. "Orangerie" in particular has a buoyancy of form, thanks, in part, to shapes along which the eye slips very fast and smoothly, that can make it seem to float like an apparition before you. Closer focus reveals that this effect is due to the internal array of the parts of the work, as well as its being painted a deep mauve that masks the material qualities of steel. (You see this, for instance, by walking around the work, for the effect I describe

is best felt from the "frontal" view shown here.)

The abstractness of Caro's sculptures is precisely their aspect of seeming to withdraw from the literal physical circumstances by means of an internal coherence of which each work is a novel instance. Caro eliminated the base from sculpture with such authority, it seems because he preserved its effect by means suited to his way of working by means of something he discovers in the working process. His preception of an order that is out of inarticulate materials, tells him that Caro's work embodies, and it is possible that Caro's work embodies, a work of "angerie" exhilarating to see.

## How to catch up with the future

Have you read "Future Shock" by Alvin Toffler?

Some friends of mine who managed somehow to accrue two copies of this fat volume in the wave of accolada that greeted its appearance on everyone's TV tables way back in 1970, generously gave me one of them a year ago.

They hadn't read it either. It says on the cover, in heavy black lowercase: "A study of mass bewilderment in the face of accelerated change." The blurb includes C. P. Snow stating that "we shall all be very foolish" to neglect it; Peter Laslett calling it "A classic of the genre . . ."; Anthony Wedgwood Benn launching his commendation of it with the words: "If we are to survive as a human race. . . ."

Apart from raising such an incalculable issue as "If we don't survive as a human race" what are the alternative states of being we might survive as? Mr. Benn's is just the sort of shock-tactic cliché to make the likes of me feel I should read this book — dedicated as it is to "Sam, Rose, Heidi and Karen. My closest links with time." Its jacket based, as it is, on a design by Neil Fujita. . . .

The question, however, is: has change accelerated so fast already that it has left even this more-than-up-to-date book running breathless behind? If so, to read it now would be mere regression, an exercise in nostalgia. (On the other hand, what is more up-to-date in 1977 than nostalgia? — perhaps I should read it as a historical study of the mores and attitudes of the early seventies). And the fact is that for a full seven years we have survived as a human race in spite of the notorious fact that I haven't read a single word of "Future Shock" by Alvin Toffler; and although I am feeling superconscious of the enormous risk I've taken, I do have a kind of contrary notion that maybe the risk wasn't so great after all.

The thing is: where does one draw the line? There are so many survival books around that we should all be reading/ have read/ be about to read in order that the human race is not put in jeopardy . . . and when they have been around for a year or two and spaceship earth is still rolling, they seem to easily slip from the category of urgent necessity into the category of missed opportunity.

Oh! To be up-to-date! To have one's finger on the rhythmic pulse of space-time and beyond! And yet, for all one's effort) one seems to remain teetering on the edge of abandoning modernity as altogether hopeless, or at best to have a poignant longing not so much to be back in the sixties, as to have those vivid years still with us, extending their natural span.

Who wants the seventies? Haven't we already had enough of them to write off the complete decade? Well on 1984, I say, I mean, given the fact that the past is outside our grasp, then a step into any available decade has to be more daring, less timorous, more downright adventurous, than our enforced stance in the present one. And anyway I'm looking forward to Orwell's famous year with the kind of penchant that a deliberately unsuperstitious man adopts to welcome dawn on Friday the Thirteenth. How incredibly wrong the doom-merchant is going to be!

Oh, to be up-to-date. But to be that I should have to have read "Future Shock" seven years ago, and I didn't, so I can't be. And I haven't yet heard anything about the books I should absolutely be reading now. That surprise is reserved for some unknown time to come. The problem is that my future shocks always seem to happen too late.

Christopher Andreas

### A proposal

Being a dealer in words I have not a penny  
For restaurant meals,  
Journeys in taxis,  
Or any  
On wheels.  
Park bench for snacks is  
More in my line,  
If ever we dine.

Being a dealer in words I have not a cent

For buying a home  
In country or town,  
Or paying the rent.  
It will probably come  
To just bedding down  
In a derelict shed,  
If ever we wed.

Being a dealer in words, I have only these

To keep you from cold,  
But I'll wrap you in dreams  
Whenever you please,  
In mantras of music, unfinished, unsold,  
Woven in shadows, woven by streams,  
Woven of fabric that drifts in the air,  
If ever you care, if ever you care.

A. L. Hendrika

### Listening, half awake, to a singer practicing

Her voice winds through my nodding  
dreams;  
through the dull slumbering of my skies  
the sweet, insistent music streams.

How true that distant starlight gleams!  
How straight that silver arrow flies!  
Her voice winds through my nodding  
dreams.

Serene and bright, her singing seems  
a curving S that satisfies —  
the sweet, insistent music streams.

A wave of song now crests and creeps  
and breaks upon my flickering eyes;  
her voice winds through my nodding  
dreams.

The ringing joy of it redeems  
the landscape of my wooded sighs;  
the sweet, insistent music streams.

Between the high and low extremes  
I hear the music fall and rise;  
her voice winds through my nodding  
dreams;  
the sweet, insistent music streams.

Doris Kemo Quinn

### The Monitor's religious article

## What do you expect?

The saying, "You get what you expect," often stirs us to consider what our expectations for ourselves really are. The saying may not be literally true, but our human circumstances are greatly influenced by what we expect.

Christian Science teaches that we can expect only good, for God, infinite good, divine Love, cares for and governs man. But we do have to learn to depend upon God's guidance. The Psalmist said, "My soul, wait thou only upon God; for my expectation is from him."

At one time I was healed of rheumatism through Christian Science treatment. I had been in severe pain, but within a short time I was able to walk freely. A number of weeks later, however, I again awakened one morning in severe pain. My first thought was that the problem had returned to plague me. I was able to overcome this fear only by turning to God. I thought of the Psalmist's words, quoted above. I realized that if my expectation was from God, who is infinite good, I could expect only good. Immediately the fear fell away and with it the pain, and the symptoms never returned.

To expect good opens thought to hope and unlimited trust in good. God is divine Mind, and man, as God's spiritual image, expresses the intelligence of Mind. This is the truth of being. But the human mind is unable to cope with its beliefs in good and evil, and often the negative view of life and its prospects stifles the right intent and desire for progress.

It is good to ask ourselves often, "What do I really expect?" If thought is open to the right ideas that come from God, divine Mind, we will find that the power of divine intelligence supports every spiritual step forward.

Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, writes, "When the destination is desirable, expectation speeds our progress." How do we know whether our desires are right and our aims are good? By turning to God in prayer. By desiring to do what will best help us to express what we really are, the spiritual reflection of infinite good — the perfect image of God.

Human experience says no to many of our right desires. It says that we are too poor, too young, too old, too weak, or hemmed in by material limitations. But God is not saying

this to us. Ours is the same God who told Moses and his people to go forward when they faced the sea with the Egyptians in hot pursuit. But what seemed impossible to the material sense of things yielded, and they crossed over to the Promised Land.

Our guidance is at hand when we pray for spiritual understanding. "Desire is prayer; and no loss can occur from trusting God with our desires, that they may be moulded and excited before they take form in words and in deeds," writes Mrs. Eddy. We are on safe ground when we base our expectations on right desires.

\*Psalms 122:5; \*\*Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 426; †Science and Health p. 1.

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# OPINION AND...

## In good hands

By John Gould

Our good boy Guernsey Le Pelley lately depicted Henry Kissinger in his editorial page cartoon. Dr. Kissinger, or reasonable caricature thereof, was seated at the groaning board making away with a monster meal, and he was holding his fork in his right hand as he shoveled away. I forget now the point of the cartoon, but I noticed the starboard action, and I believe Kissinger, is, instead, a sinister minister. I recall how my wife and I, when we visited Europe, became interested in the left-handed manipulation of the dinner fork, and became accomplished at it to the extent that it took about four months to break the habit after we got home. A number of Germans noticed that we had shifted, when in Rome, etc., and asked the question they like to ask, "Don't you find it's much more sensible?"

It certainly is. We Yankos hold the fork in our left hands while we cut our meat with the knife in our right. Then we go through an absurd exchange in which we lay down the knife, move the fork to the right hand, lift the morsel to our lips, and then return the fork to the left hand while we cut off another piece. We probably waste enough energy to paper a room. The European manner is to leave the fork in the left hand, and take your exercise by a brisk

walk in the Schwarzwald. I do not know, but I surmise Dr. Kissinger may have mastered an ambidextrous international etiquette during his tenure, partly to oblige cartoonists. Perhaps he will speak of this in his memoirs-to-be.

Meantime, every so often the subject of table manners brings into focus again the tale that my grandfather told of the big party at the Curtis clearing, c. 1780-or-so. Our family had come to take up land, and presumed themselves to be rather alone in an untouched wilderness. Being on a ridge, they had a view over a valley, and one morning they were astonished to see a thin column of woodsmoke climbing into the eastern sky. Close-hand investigation called for a walk of six miles, and it turned out a trapper, also a squatter, had made a clearing and built a cabin at that distance. The breakfast fire of Mr. and Mrs. Curtis, who were to remain and be our "neighbors" for a generation, had revealed their presence. Introductions were made, lifelong friendship established, and after a time Mr. and Mrs. Curtis invited Mr. and Mrs. Gould for dinner.

It was the first social encounter of the township. The provender consisted of a venison stew, with some meager vegetables cooked in



"He doesn't have much appetite for the job"

it, and lacking any kind of service bowl or tureen Mrs. Curtis simply listed the cookpot from the fireplace hearth onto a flat-rock hotmat on the table, à la centerpiece, and the four

participants approached it from N. S. E. & W. The cutlery now comes in context.

Mrs. Curtis lacked a silver service, and in those circumstances she was fully equipped. There was the steel three-pronged kitchen fork indispensable in old-time use, and also used rather generally as a table. There was a wooden spoon, ladle size, that Curtis had fashioned from the fuel pile. It was a woodman's skinning knife which Curtis needed in his poultry. In very short family had a knife, fork, and spoon.

Mrs. Gould used the spoon, inasmuch as was visiting lady and that implement was suited for the work at hand. Mr. Gould, the three-tined fork. Mrs. Curtis used the skinning knife. Mr. Curtis, cunning in the provisions a pioneer life required, brought in a carpenter's awl from his bench, and now he raised it (to stir the stew) and "broke bread" by spearing it of venison in the pot. In this manner the villies commenced, and a good time was had.

There was nothing in Grandfather's tale of this matter that informs us with what the happy diners lifted their food. Fly-

## The three-letter obscenity

Melvin Maddocks

A strange new sense of delicacy threatens to smother the American language in blushes. Obscenity is still spoken as casually as the conjunction "and." With almost bored complacency all the four-letter words get printed in "family" magazines. Look, ma, no dash-dash-dash, no dot-dot-dot! And in case any older, sheltered person may not know what they mean, the newest dictionaries will calmly and antiseptically define them for him or her.

But the most sophisticated tongue trips and stammers in a paroxysm of embarrassment over the new four-letter words, like "girl." And why not? "How dare you, pig!" the onlookers will more or less unanimously cry in outraged response to such coarseness.

To "girl" on the list of the new unspeakable words must now be added "boy." The Boy Scouts of America, not exactly one of your radical fringe groups, has decreed in a memo that "the word 'boy' is objectionable to minorities, our young adult (male and female) leaders, and naturally to the young women enrolled in our co-ed Exploring program."

And so Boy Scouts of America is officially changing its name to Scouting/USA.

Odd and still odder! Such scrupulous agonizing over one or two select words in a not-very-perfectionist world where (as we are regularly informed by English teachers) those very people who used to be known as "boys" and "girls" generally handle their spoken and written language by means of "Ughs!"

Dictionary editors now record, rather like a public-

opinion poll, the words their users take umbrage to. One of the terms judged to be an obscenity to a large number of '70s lips and ears is "housewife," a word that dates back to the 13th century and corresponds exactly to "husband" (meaning, "house man").

Having posited that "boy," "girl," "housewife," and so forth are dirty words, the new prudens are quite prepared to wash out with soap the mouths that pronounce them — and never mind any talk of "free speech" this time.

In the 18th century there was an editor named Thomas Bowdler who produced an edition of Shakespeare, expurgated, for which he won himself dubious fame in the verb "bowdlerize," implying a persnickety fastidiousness carried to absurdity. With all this walking on euphemistic eggshells, fretting over every term that might just possibly offend, the question occurs: Are we, in our new "sensitivity," committing a new sort of bowdlerizing?

There are a few words — most notably the old obscenities — that are designed to be abrasive and insulting: less words than whiplashes. But most words, as any amateur linguist knows, are born unloaded. They become flattering or derogatory according to context in writing and intonation in speech. If "boy" is applied to a man to deny him his station as a man, clearly "boy" is pejorative.

But if a new father and a new mother are told that unto them a boy or a girl is born the words have a beauty, a glory to make the heart sing.

Must we politicize words into good guys and bad guys?

The Boy Scouts of America spent seven years trying to decide whether to change their name to Scouting/USA. The very idea of the hours and hours of conferences, the miles and miles of memos is so appalling that one is tempted to cry in a pique: "Better they spent the time rubbing two sticks together."

Language must be spontaneous, even carefree to be effective. There is something a little too semantically artificial about a world in which homemakers (maybe with husbands who are sanitary engineers and parents who are senior citizens) have young adults in the family who belong to Scouting/USA.

We have thrown out old inhibitions and produced new ones.

We have made fools of ourselves, cutting out words when what we really meant to do was odd out the sneer.

And while we're on the subject, how, after seven years of scrutiny, did "Scouting" survive all this parade inspection around the '70s Tower of Babel? According to the Random House Dictionary, the verb to scout means "to reject with scorn," while one meaning of the noun is "a servant to a student at Oxford."

We don't know about you, but no young adult of ours is going to get mixed up in funny business like that.

## Readers write

### In support of human rights and against Concorde

President Carter should be applauded for his strong support of the human rights issue in his dealings with foreign governments. If we are sincere in considering ourselves a nation which is attempting to ensure personal liberty, our concerns must embrace all humanity.

We need to honor, however, the integrity of the countries with which we are dealing. It will require careful diplomacy to present the human rights issue as a winning proposition for everyone concerned.

Rather than making accusations and withdrawing support, thus angering those governments which are not honoring human rights, let us offer incentives — perhaps additional trade, aid, or cultural exchange opportunities — in exchange for their humanitarian efforts. Only through mutual support can all nations work together to make the world a better place for living.

Wheat Ridge, Colo. Carolyn L. Clark

The Carter administration should never weaken in its stand for human rights. Human

rights are for everyone on this planet, not for just a selected few.

No one nation or group of nations has the wisdom or the power to act as the human rights policeman of the world. This can be done only by a duly authorized world agency. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights is the only logical power to enforce human rights wherever a proved violation occurs. That power must be clearly limited and defined under world law to prevent abuse.

Cincinnati Victor Rice

Very little is being done to defend the human rights of the black majorities in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia); and even less is being done to help the Palestinians who are in peril not only of losing their human rights but their very entity and existence. We worry about Russian Jews denied the right to emigrate from Russia, and yet most of us endorse the systematic wholesale and armed expulsion of the Palestinians from their homes, and their consequent unproductive living in squalid

exile. This is committed by Jewish immigrants, many from Russia.

Let humanity for once triumph. Let us defend the human rights of all Jews, blacks, Palestinians, everywhere.

W. Lafayette, Ind. Abdulla B. Danok

Say no to Concorde

It always seems distressing when our close friends disagree with our personal viewpoints. The Monitor's editorial "Concorde at the Brink" caused the same sort of distress.

The United States aborted its own supersonic program when it became evident that a sizable segment of our population would not tolerate the boom! France and England must have been able to read that signal but evidently chose to believe their plane would receive preferential treatment. They seem to be saying "We've made it, we need it, and you will have to accept it."

You say give it a trial. If that were done, and

break-even point — it would then be impossible to say no to the French and English and their boom-bird.

As difficult as it may be, the Port Authority of New York must say no to the Concorde.

Eugene, Ore. Robert A. Goulet

Applause

I was very interested to read the editorial "Reporting on Southern Africa" by J. F. van Houschooten which you published Monday, January 31, 1977.

I heartily endorse the sentiments expressed.

Johannesburg, South Africa Mrs. R. J. J. J.

We invite readers' letters for this column. We cannot accept every one, but we are concerned to publish letters that are helpful and constructive. Letters should be addressed to: The Christian Science Monitor, International Editor, 280 New York Street, Boston, MA 02108.

# COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

## The cruise missile

We in the West cannot, of course, know all of the reasons why Leonid Brezhnev and his colleagues in Moscow decided to say a firm, hard, sharp no to President Carter's opening proposals on arms limitations. Nor can we measure accurately the relative weights of the various probable reasons. One important reason might have been as simple as a decision to show Mr. Carter that he is, after all, a "new boy" in world affairs and should be more respectful toward his seniors.

However, we do know that a particular weapon known as the "cruise missile" had something to do with Mr. Carter's first stumble in world affairs. The Soviets quite obviously are worried about what the Americans are talking of doing about this weapon. We will be hearing a lot more about cruise missiles here we hear less about them. So, herewith, the ABCs of cruise missiles.

A cruise missile is a weapon which travels on wings and is propelled by an air-breathing engine. The idea is not new. The German V-1 which was used against London during the closing phase of World War II was a cruise missile. The English called it a "buzz bomb." V-1s were so slow that fighter planes could intercept and overtake them — and tip them over

by getting wing tip under wing tip and lifting. Their effective range was about 50 miles.

There has been continued development of this type of weapon. The Soviets have one now called the Shaddock which is launched from their submarines and has a range estimated in Western military circles at from 150 miles up to 550 miles. The United States Navy is building one now called the Harpoon. Both the Shaddock and Harpoon are in the category of ship-to-ship weapons, useful in a sea battle but without sufficient range to be a factor in the strategic balance.

The United States is not at present building any cruise missile of strategic range or weight. But the U.S. is well advanced in the two kinds of technology which could in theory make a big difference in the balance of power. One of these is a small, 200-pound engine which could propel a cruise missile at very high speeds — supersonic or sonic. The other is a self-correcting guidance system which could at least in theory take a cruise missile straight to its target with "Zero CEP." CEP stands for "circular error probable." Zero CEP means what a layman would call a bull's-eye hit.

The U.S. Air Force has a design for a cruise missile weighing under a ton. Twenty of these

could be hung from a single B-52 bomber. Each would have a range of over 1,500 miles. The U.S. Navy has one under design which could be fired through a standard torpedo tube from a submarine, or from a surface ship, with a range of about 1,800 miles. (They come with "flip-out" wings.) A land-based version would be easy. And it would be mobile since it could be trundled around on an ordinary truck. Cruise missiles could be fitted out with either nuclear or conventional warheads — at will.

It is believed that the Soviets are far behind in the technology of the small, lightweight engine and in the self-correcting guidance system capable of reaching Zero CEP.

A cruise missile would cost somewhere between half a million and a million dollars per unit. It is unmanned. If one is lost, no human life goes with it. A B-1 bomber will cost almost \$100 million per bomber. That is not counting the cost of training the crew or the incalculable value of the lives of the crew if one B-1 is lost.

At present there is no limit on the number of cruise missiles the U.S. could launch or deploy. SALT I does not cover them. SALT II has not been written. Mr. Carter offered to put limits on American cruise missiles in return for So-

viet limits on the size and numbers of their big ballistic missiles.

If the cruise missile is half as good as its advance billing indicates, the Soviets have something to worry about. Cruise missiles in NATO territory with their potential Zero CEP accuracy would be ideal answers to those concentrations of Soviet tanks in East Germany which so worry NATO planners. Cruise missiles launchable from bombers and submarines would take over much of the targeting load now on the Polaris and Poseidon submarines and on the ICBMs in their "silos."

A cruise missile program could pick up and revive the advantage the United States has had over the Soviet Union over the last decade in MIRVs (multiple independently targetable warheads). Moscow has probably been shaken badly by the suggestion that Mr. Carter would be willing to take a SALT II formula which left out the cruise missiles. Under that arrangement, Washington could build as many as it chose.

Small wonder, I think, that Moscow was not ready when Mr. Vance was in Moscow to settle on a new SALT formula. They have a lot to think about.

Joseph C. Harsch

## Carter disappoints one observer

According to both Gallup and Harris polls, Jimmy Carter's second month as President of the United States was marvelously popular. He went up from 60 percent of public approval in his first month to 71 percent in his second. And what to me is truly astonishing, he chalked up a 61 percent approval score for his performance both in the field of economics and in the field of energy.

His high score on energy must be presumed to be based on his selection of James Schlesinger for the task of bringing the United States to terms with the prospective shortage of familiar forms of energy. It was an excellent selection. But that is as far as Carter administration performance on energy has yet gone. I know of no other basis so far for approval of performance in this area.

I fall to see any basis for the high score on economics. True, employment went up by another million and a quarter jobs during the month of February — in spite of cold and snow. But this could hardly be attributed to anything done in the brief time since the Carter administration took office. The fact is that the American economy is strong and remarkably healthy, all considered.

What the Carter administration has done in the economics area is to promise a \$50 tax rebate for individuals, tax credits for business, and a lot of public works jobs at the expense of anything approaching a balanced budget. The stock market is currently bumping down not, surely, because of any weakness in the basic economic condition, but because the things the Carter administration is proposing sound very much like more inflation.

My political columnist colleague David Broder, who writes for the Washington Post, notes that Mr. Carter "has not reduced unemployment, curbed inflation, simplified government, or done most of the other wonderful things he promised in his campaign." Correct.

He has done a lot of things we were not led to expect by the words of the campaign. He has supported an unconscionable and, surely, unnecessary increase in congressional and federal salaries. He has stuffed the White House staff with personal associates from Georgia and the campaign — and promised even higher salaries than the already excessive ones (in my opinion) which their Nixon-Ford predecessors had been getting.

It would seem to me to be a reasonable conclusion from the above that Mr. Carter has, so far, been busier playing politics than running the country.

To say that is not necessarily to say that he is doing as avoidable or unusual.

A case can be made that his entire present depends on whether he can build enough political strength to be able to get what he wants, and needs, through the Congress. He cannot demonstrate that strength during the

campaign. If the only purpose is to get the political strength necessary in order to become a strong and effective President, then what he is doing now is an unavoidable preliminary to future operations as a President.

Also much of what is being done right now smacks of an ancient political practice which, no matter how undesirable in theory, is regarded among professional politicians as normal, natural, and proper. I refer to the practice of the old rule that "to the victor belong the spoils."

Mr. Carter's Georgia friends who have trooped into the White House with him — never had it so good before. True, they have been horrified by Washington rents. True, some of their new wealth has already been lifted from them by Washington real estate operators and restaurateurs. But the fact is that government salaries in the \$40,000 to \$50,000 range are not common in Plains, or even in Atlanta. Mr. Carter is taking care of his political friends at the expense of the taxpayer in the old political manner. It is not done as crudely as in the days of Andy Jackson. But it is the spoils system just the same.

I suppose that all I am really saying is that Jimmy Carter is not Sir Galahad — which I should have known all along. The other side of the coin is that he seems to be playing politics successfully. His performance is popular. He is gaining in political strength, hence in potential ability to become a strong President.

But I feel entitled to look forward to the day when he will settle back to the job of running the country. When that time comes we will be able to judge him on operating performance rather than on public relations style.

## Mirror of opinion

With only three months to go before the Bermuda agreement on air traffic between the United Kingdom and the United States expires, we are still a long way from a new agreement. The talks [this] week in Washington between the two countries should provide an opportunity to sort out those issues where the differences are matters of degree, on which a compromise should be possible, and those where more fundamental issues of principle are at stake.

Some of the principles are clear. It is pointless even to try to negotiate a new agreement if the other partner is not willing or able to implement the present one on matters which are inconvenient. The failure to allow Concorde to use New York airport owes more to internal Democratic politics in that state than it does to policy of the United States Government; but it is clear that under the terms of the present agreement, Concorde does have a right to land in New York. The failure of the Washington

Richard L. Strout

## Quality — not quantity of life

Washington What's a "Physical Quality of Life Index"? Nothing less than an attempt by serious students to measure the "quality" of life. Not just the quantity of things an individual amasses or produces or has available to him as he makes his way about a small planet called Earth occupied by four billion other striving people, but the conditions of that life, yes, the quality.

Before explaining further, here are some international comparisons: the "Q" index of India is 39; oil-rich Kuwait 78; the United States is a whole 96, Netherlands 90, and Sweden 100. Demographers, sociologists, economists have tried of the "gross national product" as a yardstick for comparing states and nations.

It's the sum of all the goods and services a nation produces, divided by the number of people. The U.S. has an "average per capita GNP" of \$8,670, which is almost incredible when compared, say, to that of the Republic of Korea, which is \$480, or to Kerala, India, which is \$110.

But what an inadequate thing GNP is. America's GNP includes \$4.3 billion for "barbershop, beauty parlor, and bath services"; \$24.7 billion for "alcoholic beverages"; \$78 billion for military expenses in 1973 (around \$100 billion now). These things don't add much to the quality of the average citizen's life.

The Overseas Development Council, a Washington-based nonprofit research organization, has devised what could be an enormously useful new standard. What is the percentage of literacy in a nation? What is its infant mortality? What is its life expectancy? The council assigns the three figures equal weight. Then it averages them. The composite that emerges

gives a rough idea of how much education the people are getting, how much sanitation, how much health care, and a variety of other "basic human needs."

The word "physical" is expressly put in the Physical Quality of Life Index. The index doesn't, and can't, tell artistic, democratic, or spiritual values. But it is vastly more illuminating in some respects than GNP.

For example, although oil-rich Kuwait has a per capita GNP of \$11,770, its quality of life index is only 78, while Sri Lanka, with \$130 GNP, has a PQLI index of 83 because political power is concentrated in the villages.

Five nations have a higher "Q" rating than the United States. America's higher GNP is not in itself a guarantee of good levels of literacy, life expectancy, and infant mortality. America's infant mortality per 1,000, for example, is distressingly high at 17, and there are 17 nations with a lower rate than this: the U.S.S.R. officially lists its rate at 13; Sweden is down to 9. (By contrast the Angola figure is 203.)

International comparisons could lead to endless argument: has Castro been good for Cuba? Political freedom is absent in Cuba, and it is ranked as a low middle-income country, with per capita GNP at only \$450. But it has a relatively high PQLI of 86.

The PQLI tells other things — for one, the direction nations are taking. The U.S. index has risen steadily; only 63 in 1960; 65 in 1969; 91 in 1970; and 96 in 1973. It also indicates that the gap between white and black populations in the U.S. is diminishing: in 1960 the respective figures were 85 and 30; in 1973 for whites it was 97, for blacks 89.

## Britain's air grievances

Administration to ensure that that right is respected ought to be rectified at once.

These doubts are reinforced by the evident unwillingness of the United States to give up some of the more obviously unfair advantages which it has enjoyed since the original Bermuda settlement was reached in 1947. The most notable of these is the so-called "fifth freedom," which in practice allows American airlines to fly from British territory to destinations other than the United States. For example, Pan American flies to nine European cities from London, with the possibility of taking some of the short-distance traffic. It is clearly an unequal arrangement which allows the United States' airlines to do this when British Airways cannot compete for internal traffic in the United States. This point has more than theoretical importance: On the North Atlantic route alone, the imbalance in revenues is not, probably, an insupportable problem. If it is in their flights from London to destinations in the Con-

tinents and westwards from Hongkong that the American airlines have an unfair advantage.

On the other issues, the scope for negotiation is clearer. There seems already to have been some movement towards an understanding on the share-out of routes on the North Atlantic itself, and although it is unrealistic to suppose that the United States would accept the principle of one American airline on the New York-London route, they have in practice cut back their flights from many other cities.

On the other main demand of the United Kingdom, that there should be action to limit surplus capacity, the real interests of both countries do not differ greatly. The United States has no more wish than we have to see aircraft flying nearly empty. But the United Kingdom ought not to be so committed to the interests of its national airline that it forgets that passengers pay heavily on scheduled flights and should expect to get a seat when they need one. — The Times (London)